# The Nation

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## The Week

THE President's first proclamation on the control of exports is not unexpectedly comprehensive, though the dispatches speak of surprise on the part of those who have been urging such control. Food and food materials, mined fuel, iron, steel, and their products, ferro-manganese, fertilizers, arms, ammunition, and explosives are embraced. There is no inclusion as yet of lumber, of textiles and clothing, and of certain common metals. Before July 15 the regulations, with the limitations and exceptions of which the President speaks, will be published, subject, of course, to elaboration and amendment. The action to be taken on food will probably wait for full formulation until the legal creation of Mr. Hoover's position as Food Administrator. It is intimated that coal and oil will be used to bring the tonnage of neutral shipping into the most useful relationship with the Allies, and that iron and steel will be furnished to Japan upon the basis of Japanese agreements to turn over shipping for transatlantic service for the nations with which she is allied in the war. The marked uneasiness of neutrals during the past week has shown what a mighty weapon the Government has in its powers of embargo. It can be effective and still be exercised in accordance with the President's statement of June 26, sympathetically and justly.

THE Senate has added to the Food bill, at the moment when the country breathed more easily because prompt passage in satisfactory form seemed assured, an amendment that is equally wrong-headed from the point of view of conservation, prohibition, and maintenance of the revenues. The President is directed to take over after thirty days all stocks of distilled liquor in bond, and to pay 10 per cent. more than cost for them, though only a small portion of this liquor can be actually needed to provide alcohol for war work. Senator Simmons estimates that for this next year $110,000,000 would be lost in internal revenue if the amendment became law, and that at least $200,000,000 would have to be provided for the purchase of whiskey in bond, and that the measure's full cost in the years of its effects would be much greater. The distillers and retailers of whiskey would distinctly profit. Not only is a generous percentage of profit allowed them, but they have a month to withdraw liquor from bond to avoid seizure, and they could thus hold for the market great quantities on which the price to the consumer would have risen enormously. At the end of the war they can resume manufacturing at the old stand. The Senate should retrace its steps, and pass such a liquor section as the country looked towards—stopping distillation till the end of the war, and authorizing the President to commandeer such distilled liquors as are needed for the war.

EARLY fears that Congress by taxation measures would disorganize business are not justified by the Revenue bill which the Finance Committee reported to the Senate last week. The levy on war profits is remarkably light. For the calendar year 1917, it taxes the profits above the average return of the three years 1911, 1912, and 1913. The rate is graduated. On earnings 15 per cent. in excess of average profits, a corporation will pay 12 per cent. On excess earnings between 15 and 25 per cent. it will pay 16 per cent. Thus the rate increases, through a series of gradations, until for excess earnings which are more than 250 per cent. above the average the tax will be 50 per cent. A corporation whose earnings are 20 per cent. in excess of the normal years, for instance, will not pay 16 per cent. on this excess. It will pay 12 per cent. on that part of the excess up to 15 per cent. above the average profits of the three pre-war years, and 16 per cent. only on the remaining 5 per cent. Using the same three years as a pre-war or "normal earnings" base, Britain first levied an excess-profits tax of 50 per cent. There was no graduated scale. The theory was that the Government should take half of war profits. In a later law the rate was raised to a flat 60 per cent. It is now 80 per cent.

THE tax in the Senate bill is not on the wealthy as such, but on those making profits in war which they presumably would not have made had the country remained at peace. Yet such a tax might be placed too high. If the whole excess were taken, it would remove incentive from the war industries. But if they were allowed to keep all their war earnings, the cry would be raised that this was a "rich man's war." To allow corporations to retain half of their war profits would conserve the incentive; and the cry of a rich man's war would be but a murmur if men felt that out of war profits the Government was getting 50 cents in every dollar. A heavily increased tax on normal income disturbs existing arrangements more than a tax on war income—income which did not previously exist. The House Ways and Means Committee assert that more revenue is needed. The House bill carries an estimated revenue of $1,810,000,000; the Senate bill of $1,670,000,000. Of this the Senate expects to raise $523,000,000 by a tax on war profits. The need for the exact amount carried in the House bill has never been made convincing; but if that amount simply must be raised, it would be better to add most of the $140,000,000 discrepancy between the two bills by increasing the excess-profits rate than to resort to some of the expedients of the House measure.

A STRONG protest should be lodged against the abuse by Post Office officials of their wide powers under the Espionage bill to forbid the free use of mails to various publications. Up to date, this indirect form of suppression has not been used against any large or powerful members of the press, but only against small and feeble periodicals. The ground for withholding the privilege of the mails was that the suppressed publications printed articles calculated to discourage recruiting. This is an indictment of very broad scope and endless elasticity. It is an indictment typical of the bureaucratic frame of mind, leaving plenty of room for bureaucratic discretion, a discretion which has been carefully exercised in favor of the big sinner. There are a number of the great dailies, backed by influence and

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power, which have freely and openly said things much more discouraging to recruiting than the worst that has appeared in the pages of the suppressed periodicals. Perhaps, in the course of time, this indirect censorship through the Post Office will feel itself strong enough to attack bigger game.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S sense of justice, and his fundamental belief in an ordered democracy, never shone out more usefully than in his set-to with Mr. Gompers at the Russian meeting in New York last Friday. One may regret that such a controversy should have been injected into such an occasion, but once in it, Col. Roosevelt bore himself manfully. He did not seek the quarrel. In his formal address of greeting to the new Russian democracy, it was right and proper that he should refer to the defects of our own. His denunciatory mention of the shocking murderous riots in East St. Louis expressed only what every decent American feels. And the attempted palliation of the horror and shame by Gompers, with his hollow apologies for labor unions resisting the "tyranny" of competing workmen who had been "lured" to East St. Louis, raised a wrath in Mr. Roosevelt which was wholly righteous. His bold stand and his burning words will be noted throughout the entire land, and will help to bring about a better public sentiment. Already the citizens of East St. Louis are putting on sackcloth and ashes and are pledging themselves—though a trifle late—to give ample protection to every laborer, black or white. All thanks to Col. Roosevelt, say we, for having borne his testimony, like a brave man and a good citizen, against mob murder.

SOME of the wisest comment upon the riots in East St. Louis appears in the Southern press. Admitting that what it calls "the Illinois incident" tempts it to remind certain Northern newspapers of harsh utterances they have made about the South, the Atlanta *Journal* feels that the occurrence is too serious and deplorable for sectional recrimination. It seizes the occasion to add light rather than heat. The outstanding fact, as it sees the matter, is that "the thickly populated industrial districts of the North are highly unfavorable if not highly dangerous for negroes bred and born to the ways of the South." The South has its shortcomings in its treatment of the black man, but at least it offers him no illusions, "no tinselled promises like those which cunning labor agents from far-away cities dangle before him." It offers him a steady livelihood, a climate whose winters he can endure, opportunity to own a home, a shop, a farm, and "the helpfulness of a people who know him." While this paints the picture in the best possible hues, there is enough basis for it to check anything like a hasty retort. The South has opposed the migration of negroes by resort to legal restraints, and East St. Louis is taking revenge upon them by violence. Both actions are wrong. Like any other man in this country, the negro should be free to live and work where he chooses. If, in the end, he should conclude that he belongs in "the spacious, agricultural South" and not in the "crowded industrial section," well and good, but it must be his decision and not one made for him and enforced upon him in the interests of the Southern employer and the Northern white laborer.

THE quiet arrest of four men as spies or "enemy agents" points the broad difference between the right and the wrong way of proceeding in this delicate and important business. It will hardly be contended that our secret service requires the stimulus of blazing headlines and a consequent general panic over the supposed infesting of the land with men planning to blow up the nearest bridge, in order to rouse it to the need of vigilance. Yet what other purpose can these sensational manifestations serve? As Lord Northcliffe has pointed out, it has been England's experience that information conveyed to the enemy went out in letters and other such informal communications, which are hardly to be reached and controlled by every citizen looking warily as he rounds each corner. The way to catch spies is the way to catch anybody who is pursuing his plans with as much caution as zeal; let them be traced and shadowed by men who make that occupation their profession. The sudden appearance of a lot of counterfeit money means that there are counterfeiters somewhere, but we have never heard that the Government craved publicity of the discovery in order to facilitate the capture of the criminals. The sole reason for such publicity is to put the honest citizen on his guard, a reason which obviously has no force in the case of spies trying to communicate with a Government thousands of miles away.

HOW quickly can American industry be organized to turn out the thousands of aeroplanes demanded by the two bills now before Congress? The building up of the aeroplane industry here has been hampered by litigation over patent rights, which in a time of national emergency can easily be quieted. Yet progress has been steady. At the close of last year the Aircraft Manufacturers' Association was organized, and among its members we find the Thomas-Morse Aircraft Company, Sturtevant Aeroplane Company, Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation, the Burgess Company, the Standard Aero Corporation, and L-W-F Engineering Company. Two companies, the Wright and Martin, have recently been merged. And there are many others which are manufacturing aeroplane engines and parts; during 1916 two great motor factories were wholly turned over to making two kinds of French aeroplane motors. An appropriation of $639,000,000 should cause aeroplane manufacturing to boom in a way that would make the transportation of the craft abroad one of the real, if minor, difficulties. In England, not initially so well equipped as America by half, there were recently 958 firms engaged in aeronautical work for the Government, and fifty alone employed 66,700 hands. The figures of the pending appropriation may seem huge to some, but we must remember that England's Naval Air Service employs more than 150,000 officers and men.

DEMOCRACY, under pressure of the inexorable, seems at last to be moving effectively even in Prussia. The Emperor's vague promise, in his Easter-day address, of electoral reform after the war, as a reward for the common people's patriotism, steadfastness, and submission to constituted authority, has now been transformed by the Kaiser's own friends into a demand for immediate action. How far the monarch has himself inspired the manifesto of his stanchest supporters in favor of an extended and secret franchise throughout Prussia and her dependencies is not clear. In any case, it has emanated from a desire on the conservatives' part to anticipate the inevitable, a desire to make themselves the leaders of popular reform. News com-

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ing out of Germany of Socialist dissatisfaction, even of such tame Socialists as Scheidemann, of the more serious food situation, of consternation at America's energetic entry into the war, and the submarine failure, all indicate that a protest against existing conditions is preparing for the opening session of the Reichstag. Quite possibly the German people has no intention of waiting until the upper classes dole out what measure of democracy the latter consider salutary. It may insist not only on real manhood suffrage in Prussia, but also on such a redistricting of the Empire that Reichstag elections will hereafter reflect true popular opinion.

THE cabled summary of recommendations made by our Railroad Commission in Russia shows John F. Stevens and his fellows in the light not only of experts offering advice, but of agents determining where American capital will be most useful, and informing Washington of the amount needed. The Commission is reported to have asked that $375,000,000 worth of locomotives and rolling stock shall be constructed at once in the United States on American credit. To make possible prompt use of them, great workshops must be set up in Vladivostok, where men may labor day and night putting together imported locomotives and furnishing repair materials. The Commission has also brought forward certain administrative reforms borrowed from American practice, and has urged the adoption by all Russian lines of the methods now used by the best. Russia showed in her last war how much determined if unaided effort could improve communications. At the outbreak of the Japanese struggle two pairs of trains in each twenty-four hours were running upon the Trans-Siberian line, while at its close ten or twelve pairs were running. The single-track line carried a million soldiers and their equipment over 5,000 miles to the theatre of war. With American brains, money, and skill to assist, much more can be done now.

THOUGH the House of Commons again defeated proportional representation last week by a vote of 201 to 169, it will comfort its advocates that Mr. Asquith came out for the first time as a strong supporter of it. He had been increasingly struck, he said, with the unfairness of the majority rule for representation, and felt that the suppression of minorities would be increased by the addition of eight million women to the electorate. Others argued for and against the weakening of the party system. Just which of the 300 separate forms of proportional representation said to be in existence was contemplated is not important —the principle is the same in all. The vote reminds us that, though tried in parts of Australasia and in South Africa, proportional representation has made little progress in the Empire. Its foothold in Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, and Finland seems unshaken, and in France the Chamber has voted heavily for it but has been balked by the Senate. The stress of the war militates against the trial of such innovations, but if the Socialists regain their old position in Europe we shall hear much more of proportional representation.

THE discovery of an antitoxin for the gangrene that follows various kinds of gunshot wounds, if the report from the Rockefeller Institute is accurate, is like the winning of a great victory on the battlefield. If it had been announced and its efficacy fully confirmed in August, 1914, misery beyond computation might have been prevented. Quite early in the war, Surgeon-General Gorgas declared that gangrene infection "seems to be unprecedentedly frequent, and such infections are fatal in a very large proportion of cases." The antitoxin which Dr. Bull and Miss Ida Prichett have discovered, and can produce in large quantities for field use, has thus far been employed only on animals. The world will be eager to be assured that, according to the hope expressed by the announcement, it may be as effective with human beings.

IN his address on Thursday of last week at New York's City Hall, Ambassador Elkus, just returned from Turkey, very sensibly pointed out that America's interest in the Ottoman Empire has been almost entirely philanthropic. He did not say in so many words, though reading between the lines it could be inferred, that he had left the Turks in a frame of mind not unfriendly to the American people. This was no doubt due to the unselfish altruism of various American charitable agencies, the American Board of Missions, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and also, in a great degree, to the Ambassador's own tact in superintending distribution of relief forwarded by these bodies. There is, however, little possibility of utilizing these friendly relations between the two countries, and the undoubted conviction of the Turks that our Government has no ulterior designs against Turkish territorial integrity, for the purpose of arranging a separate peace with the Entente. England and France find their hands tied against any such arrangement by their engagements to the subject races in Turkey, the Armenians, Ottoman Greeks, Arabs, and Jews. They are pledged to the liberation of these peoples from further oppression. With Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and much of the Asia Minor littoral lopped off, what would remain of Turkey? A little Anatolian province and the straits, if Russia still renounced her ambitions. In fact, at present there seems no basis for negotiation.

TO date, the Spanish situation continues obscure in the extreme. Suspension of constitutional guarantees and censorship of press dispatches seem merely to have clamped the lid down on a very explosive state of affairs. Naturally, what interests Americans most in this connection is the attitude of the various factions towards the war. Spain has certainly suffered enough from German aggression on the sea to justify popular discontent, and the suspicion that the ruling classes have been uncommonly tolerant of submarine outrages. This is an occasion which, no doubt, all the dissatisfied elements will seize upon; the workingmen and the Catalonians, terms nearly synonymous, as Spain's chief industries centre at Barcelona, as well as the republicans and anti-clericals. It is not at all sure, therefore, that every revolutionary movement would align Spain actively on the Entente side. If the working people obtained control, such a movement would, while friendly to France and England and America, still aim chiefly at social and economic reforms. Barcelona was the home of Ferrer's anarchist schools. Some years ago, when the Government tried to draft Catalonia's contingent for service in Morocco, a serious uprising resulted which very nearly ended in successful revolution. The present disturbance may develop on similar lines; its significance may be social rather than international.

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# "Elaborating" War News

EVERY new explanation of the Navy Department's "thrilling" announcement to the American people on July Fourth has left the matter looking worse. The whole thing was evidently mishandled. Even the facts have been brought into serious doubt; while as for all the emotional embroidery of the statement which Secretary Daniels put out in his own name, that was in wretched taste from the first, and later was shown to be simply the ridiculous "elaboration" of a subordinate. Now, Mr. George Creel is an amiable and gifted man, sincerely desirous, we do not doubt, of serving his country, but he cannot too soon be warned not to attempt any more fine writing, in the guise of official news, in order to warm the cockles of the hearts of his fellow-citizens.

It seems to be pretty well understood, despite indignant explanations, that Mr. Creel took a somewhat "cryptic" report by Admiral Gleaves, and "elaborated" it. Mr. Creel knows what this process is called in newspaper offices. It is plain "faking." A bare cablegram of a dozen words is expanded into a half column of romantic description. This method is frowned upon by the reputable press, and it surely ought to be discouraged in official circles at Washington. Let the Government give the nation the facts, and it will attend to its own thrilling. We do not need a bureaucrat to tell us that the news is glorious. When Admiral Dewey's dispatch giving the results of the battle of Manila Bay got through, nobody complained that the inventory-like nature of his list of Spanish ships sunk was too tame. There was no demand that it should be dressed up by a former magazine writer. So of Admiral Sampson's report of the fight at Santiago; it was not felt that it could not be given to the press until some underling in the Navy Department had tricked it out in the hoight of foine language intirely. Mr. Creel states that the dispatch from Admiral Gleaves could not be published, since to do so would be to betray the place where the American ships came together, and so give information to the enemy. But it is clear that all indications of latitude and longitude could have been suppressed, and the main facts given in paraphrase, if necessary, but substantially as our naval commander stated them. In the present state of public incredulity, caused by the Washington authorities themselves, ten words of direct statement would be worth more than all of Mr. Creel's mushy rhetoric.

The whole proceeding of the Navy Department, using the too ready pen of Mr. Creel, was so transparently foolish that one is forced to look for its possible motives. Some of them are pretty obvious. It is clear, for example, that one aim was to start up a great furore about German spies. Mr. Creel pointed out the "peculiar and disturbing significance" of the fact that German submarines attacked our ships near their appointed rendezvous. Instantly the cry was raised that the secret orders of the Navy Department had fallen into the hands of spies or traitors. Of this there has not thus far been produced a scintilla of proof. Mr. Creel wrote that the attack was made "in force," but of that there is no proof either, and unofficial accounts point to the presence of at most two submarines. It is admitted that there was no "exact count," but Mr. Creel was certain that the German U-boats had "gathered for what they deemed a slaughter." The proof of that exists only in his vivid imagination. But evidence was not necessary to a state of mind which saw German spies dangling at every window of the Navy Department. The entire Daniels-Creel statement was adrip with gush and with exaggeration, but it served the purpose of setting excited people to demanding that some "strong man" or other should go to work and hang all the German spies.

Equally evident, and even more pitiful, was the other motive. This was to quicken the pulses of all patriotic Americans. That their stomachs might be sickened, rather, does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Creel. He was clearly proud of his "piece." It contained a lot of fine phrases. Secretary Daniels was immensely pleased with them, and what higher literary endorsement could they have? Two ex-newspaper men collaborating to make the great American people sit up and take notice! But the notice now taken has an unmistakable tinge of resentment in it. Our public does not like to have a lot of official rubbish palmed off on it for fact. Nor does it care to be treated like a set of children. Secretary Daniels and Mr. Creel went ahead complacently on the theory that Kipling was altogether right when he said of the American:

> His heart
> Leaps, as a babe's, at little things.

So they proceeded to furnish Fourth of July toys for the nation. But in so doing they completely mistook the true American temper to-day. The people want to know the truth. And they demand, not without a touch of anger, the minute half-pennyworth of bread which was whelmed in the intolerable deal of sack poured forth by Messrs. Daniel and Creel.

# The Question of Reprisals

THE latest air-raid by the Germans on London, adding to the list of women and children killed, is expected to bring up sharply before the British Government the question of reprisals. For the policy of vengeance there appears to be a growing sentiment in England. It is not purely blind. The argument is that severe retaliation would make the German Government think twice before ordering out any more murderous aviators. If only enough German babies and mothers were bombed to death by British airships, so runs the contention, the whole lawless and horrible business would be ended.

Quite aside from any question of humanity, or abiding by the rules of civilized warfare, it may be doubted if this argument is sound. The German Government has not shrunk from calling upon its people to make terrible sacrifices. It would, in this matter, make no discrimination between civilians and the military. If it had what is called a definite military object in raiding London, and thought more was to be gained by it than lost even if deadly reprisals were provoked, it would doubtless persist in its course, and appeal to the civil population to endure even the worst retaliatory air-raids upon undefended towns for the sake of the Fatherland. Besides, as the *Westminster Gazette* points out, the hope of influencing the German Government by inflicting cruelties upon the dwellers in German cities implies that Germans are faithfully represented in their Government and can bring direct pressure to bear upon it. In England this can be done, as we see from the present clamor that the British authorities "do something," but in Germany it would be much more dubious and far slower in coming.

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Reprisals merely for the sake of reprisals would be both barbaric and futile. They must have some specific and intelligible purpose, or else they stand condemned in advance by reason as well as by morals. And the first thing to consider carefully is what the Germans are driving at in their repeated air-attacks upon London. The theory that they are merely glutting their hate and revelling in crime will scarcely do. In general it is no doubt true, as Professor Jacks has lately been writing, that the Germans have been passing on from one act and degree of criminality to another. They committed the initial crime against Belgium in the hope of winning the war by it, and since have gone on desperately and ever deeper, just as the man who begins by embezzling finally comes to killing in order to save himself if possible. But, granting this, it must also be granted that there is method in German atrocities. It is not mere brutal *strafing* that is attempted against England. A precise object is in the mind of the German Government. The means it employs are abhorrent and forbidden, but its end is a military end. It includes, very likely, the idea of terrifying its helpless and innocent victims, and also, it may be, the hope of destroying an occasional fort, or military station, or public building in England; but the main thing sought is in the nature of a military diversion. This has now become clear in the minds of thoughtful Englishmen, and it is on this basis that they are to-day discussing both the death-dealing air-raids of the Germans, and the best measures to adopt by way of defence and reprisal. Thus the London *Spectator* declares that the whole matter is a "purely military question." It goes on:

> The best and truest reprisal is to beat the enemy. That deprives him of his power to do as he pleases. If our military leaders and experts tell us that the bombing of open towns in Germany is the most valuable *military measure* we can adopt to beat down the enemy's power in the air, well and good. We should think many times before resisting their opinion. But hitherto they have said nothing of the kind.

From the German military point of view, the attacks through the air upon England may be thought of as justified in two ways. They are a drive at what may be called the left wing of the British army in Flanders. London may be conceived of as its base of supplies and its store of recruits. Not able to make a flank attack upon them by land, the Germans do it from the sky. Further, there is, no doubt, the military object of compelling or inducing the English to divide and weaken their own aeroplane forces. If several hundred machines were to be brought back from the fighting line to protect London, German strategy would have by so much succeeded. This is the consideration which has thus far operated with the British Government to prevent it from yielding to the demand of Lord Northcliffe's papers and a portion of the public that such an air-patrol of the British Islands be maintained as will make the German air-raids impossible. That would be to overlook the chief military aim.

The existence of this aim, however, may be fully recognized, and yet steps of reprisal taken in accordance with it. The German scheme is to detach a force of British aviators in order to defend British civilians. Well, the same disability may be forced upon the enemy. German towns may be attacked from the air, not on the principle of exacting an eye for an eye, but for the purpose of making a military reply to a military stroke. If British airships are to be detached by raids at home, so may German airships. This is forcibly argued by the *Westminster Gazette*, which has withstood all the urgings to reprisals merely vengeful. It simply maintains that the Germans cannot expect to "snatch a signal advantage for themselves, and to rest in the assumption that the enemy will submit to it without counter-measures." "It is not a question of vindictiveness; it is a question whether we can remain passive and allow the enemy not merely to kill and maim our civilian population, but to get a signal military advantage by so doing." In this sense, we make no doubt, reprisals will be argued and determined by the English Government within the next few days.

## America and Russia

WHAT Prince Lvoff, head of the Provisional Government at Petrograd, has said about the ties that bind the democracies of this country and of Russia, what was said in New York in the course of the enthusiastic welcome to the Ambassador of revolutionary Russia, is not the conventional verbiage for such occasions. Behind the exchange of greetings between America and Russia is sincerity of spirit and of facts. From now to the end of the war the two republics hold the centre of the world's stages, and the solution of the great tragedy will be hastened by their coöperation. It is a partnership in which both sides have given and taken. To this country, after the trials and bewilderments of two and a half years of war, the advent of democratic Russia has brought light and guidance. It has decisively swung the uneasy balance between our desire to serve the cause of right in Europe and our doubt whether such service could not best be rendered by keeping this country out of the bitter conflict. Socialist rhetoric and German vituperation may speak of America as forced into war by her capitalists or by the need of safeguarding her loans to the Allies. Men of reason know that with the uprising of the Russian people the moral issue for ourselves was clarified.

Our entrance into the war has reacted upon the moral issues within Russia. It was natural for the extremists at Petrograd to turn upon America as the home of "plutocracy," as the most dangerous enemy to the new social ideals in Russia by reason of our enslavement to capitalism. Men of reason and responsibility, even among the Socialist leaders at Petrograd, must have recognized from the first the emptiness of this stale phraseology. We have not gone into the war for profit, since we could have kept out and continued to grow rich at the expense of Europe. We have not gone into the war for conquest. America will be at one with Russia in pressing for a peace based on justice to all the peoples caught in the storm. The extremists at Petrograd, in their clamor for immediate peace, could not drive home their contention that the prolongation of the war was only for imperialist purposes, in face of our entrance into the war after more than two and a half years of hesitation, and only with the greatest reluctance. In spite of all verbiage about capitalistic America, the fact could not be explained away that America had been the refuge and support of the men who had fought the long battle for Russian freedom. Without this country the demand for a separate peace might have triumphed. With America in the fight it was borne in upon the consciousness of the Russian leaders that ultimate values were at stake, and that abandonment of the Allied cause would mean the be-

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trayal of Russian liberty. Thus much we have contributed to the growing stability of things in the new republic; it is of greater value than the financial aid or the services of our technical experts, considerable though these will be.

One other service we can render to Russia in the trials that still await her, and that is intelligent understanding of her enormous task. Once we are assured of her fidelity to the common cause, we should be patient with delays and hesitations. Only clear-eyed and sympathetic recognition of what the new republic has accomplished in the space of three months and what she still has to do will enable us to judge rightly. Premier Lvoff's enumeration of the political and economic reforms that have been put through in the midst of revolution and war is little short of astounding. He is right in saying that in 100 days Russia has moved forward 100 years.

With the Russian armies once more pushing on, with the old tale of Austrian prisoners in large numbers, we are in a position to check up the gains and losses which the Russian revolution has brought to the Allied cause. On the debit side is the postponed offensive, though even here, after what we learn of the breakdown of the transport system in the empire, it is doubtful whether under the Czar the Russian armies could have made themselves felt sooner. On the credit side is the moral strength which Russia has brought to the Allies and the disorganization which her democratic watchwords have thrown into the enemy's camp. While Hindenburg has been waiting for the armies of the republic to melt away under progressive demoralization, it may yet turn out that the democratic solvent has been at work within his own armies. We know that the Polish legions organized at the beginning of the war as part of the Austrian army are now on the side of Russia. If there are still Slav regiments in the Austrian line-up against Russia, one can only wonder what their conduct will be in the face of a democratic Slav army advancing, not for their conquest in the name of a Czaristic Pan-Slavism, but for their real liberation under governments of their own choosing.

# Republican China

FROM the first moment of the *coup d'état* at Peking it might have been predicted that modern China would not acquiesce in the strangling of the republic. Reports now show that the new régime had to face not only the inevitable protest of the southern provinces, but dissension in the north. The collapse of the restored Manchu throne came quickly. Much that is now going on in the subtle interplay of racial, regional, and personal ambitions it is impossible at this distance to understand. But the history of the last ten years in China makes it difficult to believe that any one man or group of men is strong enough to turn back the tide which has been setting so strongly towards a modern system of government.

Nothing could be further from the truth than to suppose that the changes which have been going on in China during the last half-dozen years have been the work of a handful of men, while the nation has remained indifferent. It is true that in the course of these ten years the spirit and mental outlook of four hundred million people has not undergone that extraordinary transformation which so many writers on the "new China" and the "changing East" are always describing. We need not think of every coolie in this Oriental republic as being carried away by the new ideas of progress. Yet when all allowance is made for a great many apathetic millions, it is still a fact that the number of those who have given themselves to the new ideas is nothing less than astonishing for a people so steeped in conservatism, so foreign to our Western conceptions of nationality, patriotism, and military and industrial enterprise. As against both Manchu domination and the menace of foreign aggression, the Chinese people have displayed a sense of national feeling, a spirit of sacrifice, and, on the whole, a gift for effective coöperation, which show that we can no longer generalize about Europe and Cathay, but that the same world forces, in kind if not in degree, are shaping events everywhere.

The movement of events in China justifies a reference to the much-abused parallel of the French Revolution, if by this we understand the process which began in 1789 and continued well into the nineteenth century. There may be defeat and reaction, but there cannot be permanent frustration. The forces let loose are already too powerful for that. Yuan Shi-Kai's ignominious failure to make himself Emperor is evidence on that point. Some other man may prove more resourceful or more fortunate for the moment, but he will be confronted with the same resistance, outspoken in the press, whose development has been amazing, and in military action, but no less formidable in the enormous capacity for passive resistance which the Chinese temperament possesses. Of Yuan's ambitions, Professor Jenks has said:

> Many attempts have been made to justify or palliate the Peking monarchical movement of 1915. It is an impossible task. One need not bandy epithets or criticise methods or question motives. I can well believe that some participants sincerely thought that they were acting patriotically. But even Yuan long before his death realized and acknowledged to many whom he took into his confidence that it was—if not a colossal crime—at the very least an unpardonable, monumental blunder.

The mistake that Yuan made was in attempting the old dictator game, in trying to capitalize China's foreign difficulties into the familiar argument for a strong man to defend the country against outside aggression. But deeply though the Chinese people were stirred by suspicion and fear of Japan, they were not ready to pay with the sacrifice of the cause of internal progress for greater "security." This measures the hold which liberal ideals have taken on the conscious part of the nation.

We may look forward with a large measure of hope to the emergence of a liberal China out of the present confusion. For the case of China has this resemblance to the case of Russia, that it presents an essentially democratic people which only needs the proper leaders to translate the genius of the people into democratic institutions. As in the case of Russia, the internal problem is bound up with external relations, but of the two China is for the time being more at liberty to concentrate on home affairs. To look for Japanese machinations behind the present crisis is unwarranted. Professor Jenks, who has no soft words for Japanese diplomacy in China, declares it absurd to say that the revolution against Yuan's Imperialist ambitions was promoted or planned in Tokio. Yet it is true that the attitude of Japan may help or hinder China in the working out of her problems. Significant for many things, the Japanese Mission will supply the opportunity for the United States to contribute towards the establishment of a favorable environment for the solution of China's difficulties.

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# Chautauqua as Usual

APPEARANCES to the contrary notwithstanding, the Chautauqua Institution—to give it the name which no one ever uses—is not only doing business at the old stand, but is doing the usual kind of business. It has not resolved itself into a debating society upon burning questions. All that has happened is that, as proof of its patriotism, it has given way for a week to the "oratorical Plattsburgh." From Monday morning of last week at nine o'clock until the following Saturday evening, men and women expounded the mysteries of nations and of spellbinding. Mr. Wickersham's Independence Day address had hardly ceased to wake the echoes when the audience was invited to listen to a discourse upon "Neglected Aspects of Public Speaking." Doubtless no relation between the two numbers was in the minds of those who framed the programme, but the remark is often heard at Chautauqua, "How well things fit together here!" This oratorical week may have been a little more stirring, a little more in the newspapers, than other weeks, but mark the cunning of the Chautauqua managers. They opened their summer assembly, the forty-fourth, with a week of regular exercises—addresses on subjects like "The Man by the Side of the Road" and "Reading as an Asset and as a Liability"; a reading hour, devoted to "Stories the Iroquois Tell Their Children and How to Tell Them," and, of course, motion pictures. After thus establishing the proper atmosphere, they allowed the oratorical Plattsburghers to come on—for just one week, to be followed immediately by an "Arts and Letters" week, a "Business Efficiency" week, a music week, "The Church with a Message" week, and so on.

These precautions will have the approval of all persons who wish to see something saved from the destructive touch of war. Not that Chautauqua does not condescend to a passing nod to Mars. She even does him the honor of setting aside a week in recognition of his place in the sun. But with characteristic horror of becoming so absorbed in one thing as to impede ready shifting of attention to something else, she intersperses her lectures upon "Historical Backgrounds of the Great War" with readings upon "Famous Actresses and Their Plays," concerts, organ recitals, and "Woman's Federation Day." Nor does she place this week at the end, as would a less experienced maker of programmes, but in the middle. If the war comes to Chautauqua, it must come like any other phenomenon, to wait in line until its turn arrives to enter the amphitheatre and show what it can do to make the spectators glad they put forth the exertion to "take it in."

It is this blending of old and new that proves Chautauqua still herself. Her secret ambition has always been to cover everything in the heavens above and in the earth beneath and in the waters under the earth, in six weeks. This unhappily being difficult, she has resorted to the device of giving samples of everything. As a consequence, she is wedded to variety, how irrevocably is shown every time she tries to specialize. Here is the programme for August 8 of this year, "Denominational Day":

10:00—Devotional Hour: "Ezra, the Organizer of a New Epoch," Dean Shailer Mathews.
11:00—"The Spanish-American Woman," Madame Baralt.
2:30—Concert: "The Piper of Hamlin," by A. Cyril Graham, Chautauqua Orchestra and Junior Choir.
4:00—Denominational rallies.
5:00—"The Library in Home and School," Superintendent F. D. Boynton, Public Schools of Ithaca, N. Y.
8:00—Lecture on the Gyroscope, Prof. B. L. Newkirk, University of Minnesota.

A "Denominational Day" which begins with Ezra and winds up with the gyroscope, and which devotes exactly one of its six hours to denominations, may strike some logical-minded persons as a bit strange, but it isn't. It's just Chautauqua.

But Chautauqua stands for a more precious thing than variety. The stranger who is daunted by the prospect of being entertained steadily from 10 A. M. to 8 P. M., except only for intermissions for lunch and dinner, has still to understand the Chautauqua spirit. The programme is made long for the purpose of discouraging any one from attempting to swallow all of it. If the forenoon were filled and the afternoon left empty, any one would conclude that he was expected to spend all his forenoons profitably. But with almost every hour of the entire day offering something, it is manifestly impossible for the most ambitious visitor to go to everything. This arrangement subtly but powerfully stimulates the habit of selecting and rejecting, a habit not too common among Americans who find themselves in the vicinity of an Old World art gallery or a New World sight-seeing car. Deliberately to leave out a link in an itinerary is too great an undertaking for the unaided tourist, who is thus condemned to seeing life unsteadily because he must see all of it. If Chautauqua persists in this rare but highly commendable course, the day may come when Americans will hesitate to say that they have visited Lexington and Concord when they have only the guide's word for it as they were whirled past in a cloud of dust.

# Americans Fly in France

THE President of the Inter-Allies Aviation Service in France, M. Flandin, invited a dozen American correspondents resident in Paris to visit with him the Army Aviation School at the Camp of Avord near Bourges. Of the 600 men who are constantly in preparation there for active service at the front, there are already seventy Americans and more are coming each week, while many more are expected. The air is likely to be one of the most active fields of American enterprise in France, now that the United States has become one of the thirteen Powers actually waging war on Germany. The time is past when a hazy German philosopher lamented that Frenchmen commanded the land and Englishmen the sea, leaving only the air to his countrymen. The philosophers are lamenting more now.

The distance from Paris to Avord is more than 150 miles. This we were to cover from nine o'clock in the morning of one of the hottest Sundays of this hot summer to some hour of the afternoon, in comfortable and powerful motor cars put at our disposition by the military authorities. In my own case, what with a late start and three tires bursting from heat on these interminable stretches of shining roads across country, we arrived at the Camp only at half-past six of the evening. There were still two good hours in which to be taken over the immense aviation grounds before sunset—for the Sunlight Saving act begins our day in France one hour earlier than the sun.

Ten years ago I visited this Camp of Avord, which has

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always been one of the largest French instruction camps. There was no aviation then. There are still 3,500 men belonging to other arms, and I was touched to see memories of present war in the new names they have given to ramifications of the camp—Place de l'Yser, Place des Dardanelles, and so on.

Our visit was not for these memories which are already historical and past, but to see what is open for the future to our American lads. They are expected to be like Sandalphon, the angel of glory—in the limitless realms of the air. By the time this is printed, enough will have been said in America of the need and the use, the moral comfort and physical certitudes bound up with the aircraft of this war. Whether the advantage of countless aeroplanes in the offensive which shall terminate the war, and whether numberless Americans shall be the observers and bombardiers as well as the pilots of such aeroplanes, time will have to tell. The fact that the American correspondents of Paris were taken to visit the greatest French school of military aviation—perhaps the greatest school of the kind in the world—is a sign of the hopes which are placed in Americans.

This school of Avord is one of many in France, and its graduates go on to other more special schools for certain technical war work. From raw beginner to safe pilot at the front, three months and a half is the curriculum. There is no manufacture, but repairing of every kind, tooling and regulating and overhauling—whatever the airmen flying at the fighting front may ever need to know and do. Of the average number of 600 under preparation, 300 pilots, finished and complete, are graduated each month. Such figures—and the figures of the French air-service, in which they merge—have to be taken into account when we speak of preparedness and war.

Americans who have come here so far had first to enlist in the Foreign Legion, that they might have a local habitation and a name in the French army. They have formed a "Lafayette squadrilla" which ought to be a squadron by this time. They have their "aces"—their wounded and their dead.

In the cool of the night, I was able to circulate and talk among the Americans now under training at Avord. Any illusion I might have had that words of mine would be needed or effective to confirm and comfort was soon brushed away amid all this young, virile, undoubting, confident life. It is I who am comforted.

Our visit came in the days immediately following the arrival of Gen. Pershing and his staff in France. News of other arrivals came daily. On the coast one hundred hydroplane pilots had been landed to strengthen the sea-front patrol against submarines. An entire British base hospital had been taken over by American doctors, nurses, and auxiliaries four hundred strong. French ports whose names it was not allowed to mention had been given over for American naval bases, and land bases had been chosen. What any one could see for himself in Paris was the opening of headquarters and offices for a United States army in France. At the rate things were happening, it was as good as landed. All this, very naturally, had been stimulating young and easily reactive cerebral cells—and the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.

Quite as naturally, the currents of patriotic sentiment and sympathy were flowing somewhat criss-cross. All these young Americans had come to fight for France—and with France. Then their Lafayette squadrilla, in whose name they were preparing to fly and fight, is their pride and the object of their hopes and affections. And, as is also natural to young minds—for whom, as for ancient Pistol, the world's their oyster, and with their plane they'll open it—many were wondering if all the time and training they have had in France would not count for American army rank. And this, too, time will tell—justly and gently.

At the very late dinner, Capt. Max Boucher, commandant of the school, seated me, as the oldest of the American correspondents, beside Madame la Générale de Chavannes, whose husband is in command of the region. To my astonishment, I learned that this gracious lady had served for a year and more with American nurses in the Red Cross hospital at Pau. She asked of them by name—and now the American Red Cross under Government organization is all but invading France. No, there is no danger we shall be forgot when war is over and done.

At table, Lieut.-Col. Girod, who is general inspector of all these military aviation schools, and Capt. Gallet, "chef de Pilotage," were kind enough to tell us about their different kinds of war aeroplanes, their complete shops, and their organization of training. I was glad to hear these competent instructors explode the rather elementary legend that, while American aeroplanes are thoroughly made in wood and iron, the motors which keep them alive are not up to war mark in precision and for fighting necessities. "We have had ourselves to learn—during war—the imperative demands which war makes on such motors. Americans are learning, too."

At midnight, we started back to Paris in our motors. For three hours I could follow our direction by the North Star—and then the day began coming slowly. At eight o'clock we were in the great city, with men and women going forth to their work in the morning even unto the evening. And a Zeppelin had been brought down in England.

STODDARD DEWEY

*Paris, June 20*

# The Russian Duma

IN the manifesto of October 17, 1905, the Czar promised Russia a constitution which would give the nation a popular representation in the Government. But the fundamental laws promulgated by the Czar on April 23, 1906, greatly limited the rights of popular representation. In these laws were woven the most harmful elements of the worst form of constitution on earth—the Prussian. No measure was overlooked to make of the Duma an inefficient and uninfluential body; but in spite of all this, the effect of the mere existence of a popular representative body was so great that the Duma became a factor of vast importance in Russian life.

The "Fathers of the American Constitution" realized that, with the ever-increasing strength of legislative bodies, the representatives of the people would be vested with more and more power. The authors of "The Federalist," Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, declared that the Legislature should be a literal whirlpool into which the other forces of Government are drawn. That is why a system of checks and balances was devised for the Constitution. Similarly, in spite of all the obstacles in the fundamental laws, the tendency towards increased

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power common to all legislative bodies stimulated a corresponding growth of power in the Russian Duma. The Czar was unwilling to make any concessions to the democratic spirit of the first and second Dumas, and issued a new decree, June 3, 1907, by which the franchise was placed almost exclusively in the hands of the conservative classes—the nobility and the clergy. Although he had no right to do this, and although public opinion was deeply aroused at the change, the physical power of the Government enforced the ukase, and the subsequent election to the Duma was in accordance with the new decree. But, just as out of the Etats-Généraux of France evolved the French Revolution, so out of the institution of the Duma, authorized by the Czar as a direct result of the Russo-Japanese War, evolved the almost bloodless coup d'état which overthrew the autocratic and bureaucratic monarchism in Russia.

The first Duma was called to meet on April 27, 1906. Thousands of persons gathered in the streets of Petrograd to welcome the representatives of the people when, at this solemn moment in Russia's history, they went for the first time to the Winter Palace to greet the Czar in the name of the Russian people. The scene there was a most impressive one to eye and mind alike. The eye saw, in the foreground, brilliant court uniforms; in the background, plain, modest black coats. The new Deputies stood awaiting the Czar, and in the speech that he would make they expected that he would outline a policy of reform. All Russia shared their expectations. It seemed that the whole country awaited, breathless, the words it had a right to hear.

The Czar spoke. His speech was markedly reticent and was notable for its omissions. It was then that there opened before the mind's eye a vision of the future with which the moment was pregnant. Those black-coated men —representatives of the people—received the address of the Czar in silence—such a silence as hangs heavy over the sunlit seas of the tropics, when nature gathers up the hurricane in which her fury is expressed.

The first Duma, representative of the people, soon incurred the displeasure of the Government. The first thing it did was to demand measures of reform, and this immediately created hostility to it in the Government. Despite the fact that sentiment throughout the country was strongly in favor of the Duma, it was dismissed within seventy-two days after it had been organized. An imperial ukase was issued for a new election, and the hope was openly expressed by men high in the Czar's Government that the next—the second—Duma would be more conservative than was the first. All the machinery of the Government was put into motion to bring about the election of a conservative Duma—a Duma subservient to the Czar and of those dark forces which surrounded him and which constituted his Government.

The result of the election did not justify the expectations of the Czar, of the dark forces, or even of the conservative elements in Russian national life. Indeed, the second Duma proved to be even more radical than the first. Then, on the initiative of the Prime Minister, P. A. Stolypin, the Government adopted drastic measures, which it had no right to use under the ukase that created the Duma, and peremptorily dissolved it, ordering another new election.

This time everything was done that was necessary to the election of a Duma subservient to the will of the Imperial Government. The election resulted in an Octobrist majority, representative of the comparatively conservative faction of Russian political life. The Duma, with the Octobrist group, of which A. I. Guchkov was leader, holding the balance of power, stood ready to render all help possible to the Government, and the members fully believed in the Government's intention to live up to its policies and to grant the reforms which it had promised. The alliance between Stolypin and Guchkov lasted until the Octobrists were convinced that the Government had no intention of putting into effect those reforms which it had promised in the manifesto of October. From that time the Octobrists, from being the Government's loyal supporters, gradually became its bitter opponents.

When the war came, the dissatisfaction of the Octobrists, as well as of all other parties, melted into one great patriotic impulse—to stand behind the Czar against an alien enemy. Yet this impulse was neither appreciated nor even understood by the Government, and the same inefficient and criminal forces remained at the helm. Even when the disastrous results of the Government's system were apparent in 1915 and the Russian army was forced to retreat for lack of ammunition, the Liberal groups were ready to compromise and agree upon a minimum of reforms and concessions, in order to save the country from internal strife. Even such reforms were refused.

The Duma was either not called at all or for very short sessions during this period. The fall of the governmental organization became more imminent daily. The blundering reactionary Government had lost all its friends, not only in the Duma, but even in the Imperial Council, of which more than one-half of the members were appointed by the Czar. Within the ranks of the Ministers and even in the Imperial family itself the Government had few supporters. Most of the members of the Imperial family had warned the Czar repeatedly that to continue the old course was out of the question. Russian liberalism was struggling against a strong current of obstinate resistance. The original limited rights of the Duma had been further suppressed and even the smallest concessions to public opinion were contemptuously rejected. In 1915 the idea of creating a progressive faction in both of the legislative houses was formulated. Those who supported this idea met at the home of the eminent Russian historian, Maxim Kovalevsky, and in the session P. Miliukov outlined a long list of liberal reforms for the Assembly to act upon. It is noteworthy that the conservative element was so strong in this Assembly that even a favorable solution of the Jewish problem met with opposition. "We are well aware of the injustice of the Jewish oppression, but it will be almost impossible to convince our 'common people,' not all of whom are sufficiently educated," said one of the conservatives of the Upper Chamber at this first meeting. Finally, however, owing to the labors and energy of Professor Miliukov, all the conflicting elements were united in a moderately liberal programme.

The Government's answer to the stand taken by the Duma was its dismissal. It also forbade the Congresses of Zemstvos and Municipalities in Moscow to assemble. The Government had reached its last stage. The crisis was at hand. When Sturmer was appointed to the double post of Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. V.

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Rodzianko, President of the Duma, wrote to Nicholas II explaining to him the disastrous effect on public opinion which the appointment of such a man as Sturmer—a man of German descent and sympathies—would have. "But this letter was never answered," Rodzianko told me sadly, when he recently described the incidents that led to the downfall of the Imperial Government.

Then at the head of the Government appeared men who were known to be reactionary and were even suspected of treachery. When it became obvious that Sturmer's intention was to obtain a separate peace with Germany at the sacrifice of Russia, all parties—liberals, moderates, and even the most conservative—united in protest. P. N. Miliukov and B. M. Purichevitch were not the only ones who made pointed speeches against the Government. Even members of the Imperial Council denounced its acts. The Government was forced to yield and Sturmer was dismissed. Then A. F. Trepov, a conservative, who was believed to have the interests of Russia at heart and who succeeded Sturmer, was dismissed within thirty days after his taking office, and Prince Golitzin, a conservative, was appointed to his place.

Meanwhile Protopopov, Minister of the Interior, remained the evil genius of the Government. He not only lacked intellect, education, and character, but he was a malignant maniac. The people understood that Protopopov's rise to the important post of Minister of the Interior was not due to his progressive policies, but to some sinister connection, and they were inflamed by his protection of dishonest food speculators and by his secret appointment of the hated Gen. Kurlov to the post of Assistant Minister of the Interior. It became clear to every one that the guidance of Russia at a most critical time had been put into the hands of an insane man. At a meeting of the political leaders, Deputy A. I. Shingarev, the present Secretary of Finance, concluded his speech to Protopopov by saying: "Go to bed and lie down. Calm yourself; you are ill." Shingarev's words were soon understood. Members of the Government felt the danger of being associated with Protopopov, but against their better judgment and inclinations the Czar prevailed upon them to retain their posts. The only hope lay with the Duma. All Russia realized that too long the control of affairs had been in impossible hands and that things could no longer remain as they were.

When the Duma was called on February 14, 1917, for a new session, it had the approval of the Imperial Council and of some of the Ministers and members of the Imperial family. Again the words of warning rang in the Duma. Again the protest, addressed to the leaders of the Government, fell on deaf ears. The only answer to the clamor was an order proroguing the Duma. But this time it refused to abide by the Imperial orders. In spite of all the limitations which had been placed upon it, in spite of the embarrassments it had met with in the past, in spite of the restrictions of the law, the Duma was strong enough to resist the orders of the corrupt Government and to continue its work for freedom.

This work resulted in the overthrow of the Imperial Government. M. V. Rodzianko, head of the Executive Committee of the Duma, sent out information to all parts of the country declaring the existence of a new order of things. At this time the moderate Duma authorized its President, Rodzianko, together with the Executive Committee, to demand of all authorities and officers of the old régime that they submit to the new order. Simultaneously the Executive Council of the Duma formed the Provisional Government. The Czar realized the situation only when he was forced to abdicate in favor of the Grand Duke Michael who, after a conference with A. V. Kerensky, declined the throne and left the Administration in the hands of the Provisional Government.

The very fact that this Provisional Government grew out of the Duma, and that it has the confidence of the Russian people, assures the world that the new Russian Government is a permanent institution. The Provisional Government, evolved from the Russian Duma, is experiencing some of the difficulties which faced the framers of the American Constitution. But these difficulties will be overcome gradually, and without a doubt Free Russia will play a prominent part in "making the world safe for Democracy."

B. E. SHATSKY

# Correspondence

## LAW, ORDER, AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial upon "Clearing Skies in Russia," after quoting from Mr. Root's speech to the Russian Council of Ministers the sentence: "With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we have maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom, and national independence," you say that "thus in one sentence Mr. Root made concession to the criticism of the extremists and claimed for ourselves our just due."

Are you quite sure that he claimed no more than our "just due"? There is no civilized country in the world where there is less order and respect for law than in ours. What of the lynching bees, the appalling number of homicides as compared with those in other countries, and the prevailing general disregard for laws and ordinances? On the last point, I may perhaps be qualified to speak from an experience of twelve years upon the bench, added to the ordinary opportunities enjoyed by all.

I also have my doubts on the subject of "individual freedom." There is with us more interference with the personal rights of the individual than elsewhere. As one illustration, I cite the prohibition movement, in which a set of well-meaning fanatics seek to deprive their fellow-citizens of their rights. Of course, I am not referring to prohibition when urged as a war measure.

PHILIP STEIN

*Chicago, Ill., June 25*

## THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Only a few weeks must pass before the members of the American Historical Association will, under its new rule, be called upon to express in writing their preference in the choice of officers of the Association for 1918. In the light of this fact, it is not untimely to direct the attention of the members to the very slim recognition which the South has received in the last elections. We often hear it said that that part of the Union is "in the saddle" in the national Government, but in the American Historical Association, at least, the Southern foot is not even in the

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stirrup. There have been thirty-two or more presidents of the Association since its incorporation. Of this imposing number, the late William Wirt Henry alone was from the South. The list of vice-presidents is even longer, and yet only two Southerners are to be found in that group—W. Henry and the late General McCrady, of South Carolina. The executive committee of the Association, as far back as 1914, had possessed a total membership of fifty-four at least. The only Southern names which I can find in that distinguished list are those of William Wirt Henry, J. L. M. Curry, George P. Garrison, F. P. Riley, and U. B. Phillips. Omitting the chairmen of entertainment committees, when the Association held its sessions in Southern cities—naturally, these appointees were Southerners—I can only discover three men below the Potomac who have occupied important chairmanships; namely, William Wirt Henry, St. Geo. L. Sioussat, and Gaillard Hunt.

The Southern membership of the Association forms a very important part of the body—certainly as intelligent a part, perhaps as zealous a part, as the membership derived from the North and West. Why has it not obtained at least a proportionate division of the honors of the Association? Has William Wirt Henry been the only representative of the Southern States worthy of election to the office of president? Although he produced one biographical work of great merit, would he have been thought of for that office by the directory powers had he not borne a name of extraordinary historical distinction? I could mention half-a-dozen men, on the spur of the moment, belonging to the South, who, in the point of historical scholarship and weight of personal character, can present quite as strong a claim to the honor of the Association's presidency as W. Henry ever did. Has not the time arrived when the sectional policy of the Association in its elections should be dropped? Historical scholarship in the South, as those of us who have trodden that lonely path well know, is encompassed by all sorts of obstacles and discouragements. I for one feel that those difficulties would be sensibly diminished by the advancement to the presidency of the Association of some distinguished and representative scholar from the South.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE

*University of Virginia, June 14*

## MYCOLOGISTS DIFFER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue for June 28 a genial mycological critic asks why I did not mention (in a recent article on mushrooms) the field mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*. My answer might begin like that of Æneas to Dido, *Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem;* for, after mildly harrowing experiences with the market spawn of this particular Agaricus in a cellar bed, I was not moved to chant its praise. With regard to the captivating Coprinus, moreover, my critic may remember that I vainly tried to confine my study to eight mushrooms and, in choosing eight from several thousand, one meets the same difficulty which confronts the hardy compiler of "the ten best books" from as many million, or the one best woman, conscripted from as many billion. No two people would select the same eight mushrooms, the same ten books, or *(höffentlich)* the same one woman.

Again, if I may venture a slight criticism of my critic, the pink gills which he cites as an infallible guide are not so rated by all authorities: *vide—Sc. Am.*, October, p. 263. Lastly, some endorsement of my statement about the propagation of the puff-ball I find in "The Mushroom Book" (p. 123), published by Doubleday, Page & Co.

But, if this is incorrect, I shall most gladly learn just how this mushroom replenishes the earth with its kind. As mycological research is not yet in a very advanced stage, all those who know its fascination must welcome criticism of any kind, with any new data that may come with it.

ELLEN BURNS SHERMAN

*Weston, Mass., July 2*

## SCIENCE AND METAPHYSICS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On page 739 of the *Nation* there is a review of L. J. Henderson's "The Order of Nature," the concluding sentence of which is as follows: "A proof is not pretended, and, like all such discussions which attempt a scientific exposition of a final cause, the argument has an inevitable tendency to drift into vague generalities that cannot displace scientific agnosticism."

Discussion of "final causes" belongs to metaphysics, and with metaphysics "science" has nothing to do and nothing to say. A good scientist may be a bad metaphysician—most young doctors are!—and vice-versa. The trouble is that most scientists neglect to acquaint themselves with metaphysics, and undertake to settle matters metaphysical not at all agnostically, but most dogmatically—Haeckel, for instance.

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK

*Mount Vernon, N. Y., June 25*

## "JONNY CAKE"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of June 21 you refer to "Johnny-cake," which "has always been considered one of America's rare delicacies." You presumably do not know the rarely delicious "Jonny-cake Papers" of Thomas Robinson Hazard ("Shepherd Tom"), first published in 1879 in the Providence *Journal*, in twenty-six "bakings"; reprinted shortly after in two pamphlets, which ran through two editions, but have long been out of print; and sumptuously republished in 1915 in a handsome volume.

A correspondent of the *Journal*, writing February 12, 1879, under the name "Old Cove," had referred to Mr. Hazard's very entertaining article "upon Johnny-cakes and cognate subjects," which brought forth the following in rejoinder:

> To desecrate the name of Rhode Island's chiefest luxury with an "h" sticking up in the middle of it! This proves Old Cove's entire ignorance of the patriotic derivation of the Christian name Jonny as applied to the far-famed cake, made only in perfection in the South counties of Rhode Island, of soft feeling, fine, flat meal, ground from pure white floury Rhode Island corn, in Rhode Island granite stone mills. Old Cove, if to the manor of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations born, should have known that the original spelling of the name of the favorite food of the gods was journey-cake, so called because of the facility with which it could be prepared to gratify the impatient appetites of the heathen deities on their annual arrival at the delightful summer resorts or watering places on the southern shores of the Atlantic, the chief of which were situated where the Narrangansett Pier and Newport now stand. This name journey-cake was retained until the close of the War of Independence, about which time, in compliance with the prayers of memorials from the women of Connecticut and Rhode

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Island to the respective Legislatures of these commonwealths the term journey, as applied to the favorite food of the gods and of the Yankee nation, was abrogated by sovereign authority, and that of jonny substituted in its place, in honor of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, the honored and trusted friend of George Washington, who always addressed the sterling patriot with the affectionate pet name of *Brother Jonathan.* It was for this latter reason that the whole Yankee nation, and especially New England, became finally sobriquetted, characterized, and identified in the person of Brother Jonathan Trumbull, a plain, unassuming, honest, common-sense man, who resided in Lebanon, which is situated in the southeastern part of Connecticut, over which colony he presided as Governor throughout the War of Independence, he being the only civil appointee under the Crown in all the thirteen colonies who retained his office until after the close of the war. When in full official dress Brother Jonathan Trumbull looked very much as he is now represented in what is generally supposed to be a caricature.

He discourses at length—at great length—in various "bakings" on the proper methods of making jonny-cake, on "a red oak jonny-cake board"; of "Rhine-injun jonny-cake and the all-rye jonny-cake," etc., as made by his grandfather's colored cook Phillis; and, what on no account must be omitted, of how Phillis came to be "the remote cause of the French Revolution and the death of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette."

FRANCIS ALMY

*Buffalo, N. Y., June 22*

## A NEGLECTED CATALOGUE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In recent researches for a History of the University of Virginia I have had occasion to go through an interesting volume, which records the names of the students who, in the course of 1825 and 1826, borrowed books from the then lately formed University library. This volume is in manuscript, and it was only a short time ago that it was discovered among a mass of papers that had remained in a state of neglect for many decades. As is well known, Edgar Allan Poe was a student of this University in 1826. The session began in February and continued until the following winter. In turning over the yellow pages of this catalogue of books that had been used during that year I find six entries of the poet's name. The dates are June 13, August 8, 15, 19, September 12, and November 4, on which last occasion "Nature Displayed" was taken out. In the other instances, the volumes obtained are histories, namely, Rollin's, Voltaire's, Robertson's "America," and Marshall's "Life of Washington." Rollin's "History" is entered on two occasions. These last entries are, under the circumstances, no real indication of the literary tastes of the poet at that particular time. In 1826, there was no separate professorship of history at the University of Virginia. Modern history was taught incidentally by the incumbent of the chair of modern languages, and ancient by the professor of ancient languages. Poe was a pupil of Dr. George Blaettermann, the professor of modern languages, and it was doubtless in pursuit of his studies under Blaettermann that he obtained these volumes, for, in each instance, the record of the borrowing is accompanied with a memorandum that the particular loan was made at the request of that professor. The library at this time does not appear to have been for general readers, which no doubt explains why the poet was not credited with works for mere recreation.

P. B.

*University of Virginia, June 9*

# BOOKS

## An Impartial Judgment on the War

*Obstacles to Peace.* By S. S. McClure. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $2 net.

IN respect of its contents this book is probably the book of the year in the field of the literature of the war. One reads its pages rapidly, since it is difficult to stop before the end; and so admirable is the information contained in it and so poignant the lessons revealed that we devoutly wish, as a matter of public service, that it might be recommended from one to another, and read as widely as possible everywhere, up and down through the land.

Very largely the volume consists of quotations from official documents and reports and from the works of the best authorities who thus far have written. All this material is employed with fairness and skill, and with respect to this alone we think there is nothing better for obtaining a brief, comprehensive view of the subject. But the author himself had unusual facilities for getting information, and he is able to give to his work an additional and particular value from the fact that he spent many months in the warring countries during the progress of the conflict, and because, owing to his high standing and through the influential acquaintance which he had formed, unrivalled opportunities were given him for acquiring knowledge about public opinion and the general conditions which prevailed.

The book is written with clearness and vigor, and the writing seems judicious and correct. In all places a spirit of calmness and moderation inspires confidence in the reader. There is no exaggerated statement, no unmeasured denunciation. The case of each contestant is presented in turn. The author can scarcely be suspected of particular partiality for the allies of the Entente, and we understand that for a while the English authorities regarded him with some suspicion. His association with German statesmen seems at times to have been almost intimate, and it is as a result of this that he is able to make his particular contribution. From information furnished him by Dr. Jaeckh, an expert on Turkish affairs, and formerly private secretary to von Kiderlen-Wächter, he gives what purports to be the first definite statement of the terms of the Anglo-German agreement of 1914, by which the affairs of Turkey and the Bagdad railway were adjusted, and which seemed, in dreadful irony of fate, to settle amicably the principal matters in dispute between Germany and England on the eve of the struggle which involved them both. Moreover, the author possessed the friendship of German university professors and their families, so that even after all that has been written on the subject of German aspirations and ideals and upon the state of mind which prevails in Germany during the progress of the war, he is able to give an account which is as good as anything that has come to our notice.

Introductory parts are devoted to another discussion of the things which led to the war, since the author believes that the question of the larger responsibility for this will persist for a long while, and that it is of the utmost importance to make judgment. His opinion is that which prevails very generally at present, and will be, we predict, the judgment of posterity: that with respect to the general causes of the catastrophe blame can be affixed to no one much more

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than another, for all the parties to the strife had needs which were urgent and aspirations which properly to them seemed just; but that in respect of the immediate and particular causes Germany and her ally are responsible for the woe of the world. With regard to the neutrality of Belgium all aspects of the case are here considered, and the author's verdict is in accord with the decision of mankind—that the action of Germany was a grievous wrong and that none of the pleas advanced by advocates affords any justification whatsoever.

There are splendid chapters upon France and England. "Our Sister France" is one of the shortest, but one that most touches the heart.

> For all France, every man, woman, and child, has made the ultimate surrender of personal ambition, property, life, freedom from pain, *everything* in behalf of France. . . . The result of this devotion is such a revealing of the very soul of France that for the first time one realizes that behind the achievements of France,—the mother of democracies, and of human freedom, the mother of surpassing beauty in art and literature, the mother of gracious and noble human intercourse,—there always was something incomparably greater and more lovable than her achievements, and that was the soul itself of France.

The battle of Verdun was the greatest test a nation ever endured. There is a picture of England wonderful and transformed. Women's suffrage, says the author, is absolutely assured; on all hands they say that women have shown their right to vote; and universal suffrage for men and for women is immediately at hand. Trade unions have been revitalized. Their new motto is, "The greatest possible output for the highest possible wages." As to the relations of labor and capital two ideas dominate: that labor have proper share of the profits and proper conditions for work, and that labor and capital coöperate to produce as much as possible. There are no unemployed, and there is a general feeling that work is honorable for all.

> The determination to carry the war to a safe peace reaches to the uttermost element of the people. The awakening has changed the characteristics of all classes. There is an alertness, a respect for labor, a rejuvenation. To mingle with these people is like being in a young, booming Western town. It is a new England, new to its very roots. . . . England is at the dawn because all the people have entered upon freedom. The barriers of caste and social strata have been broken down.

Englishmen have unqualified admiration for France, as profound and universal as their unqualified hatred of Germany. The death of Capt. Fryatt, the sinking of the Lusitania, the execution of Edith Cavell, and the stories from Belgium, France, and Poland have hardened the determination of the people to go on till an end can be made of it all. This feeling constitutes one of the principal obstacles to peace. If the Allies win, they propose to have the greatest assizes in history.

About the Teutonic allies the author gives some excellent information. From January 6 until April 26, 1916, he was in Germany, except for brief visits to Belgium, the Russian front, Vienna, Budapest, and the shores of the Bosphorus. There is a vivid picture of the new Constantinople, and a fearful chapter about the destruction of the Armenian people. The account of Germany portrays men and women, among themselves, kindly, noble, and upright, absolutely convinced of the justice of their cause, and of all that they have done in their warfare, and confident of their final and certain success. They were altogether innocent, they were attacked by malicious enemies, they have fought gloriously in defence of their imperilled land. From Belgians, from Frenchmen, from all the rest, they should of right exact hard retribution for the evil which was intended. Other writers have attempted to explain how it is possible for a people to hold such ideas, with heart untouched by compassion and with mind impervious to consideration of others, but nowhere is it all explained better than in some of the chapters of this volume. The circumstances of history and the past have made Germans a military nation. Conditions of the present make them greatly desire expansion and larger resources. By militarism has the German state been made, by organization has it been upheld. But the very essence of such system is that authority is imposed from outside and above. However efficient and admirable this organization may be, when once restraints are removed individuals have within themselves less of the character and self-discipline which arise from wider personal liberty and which tend to prevent cruelty, excess, and barbarism in war. Hence the awful things done when first invaded districts were occupied—the orgies at Visé, Dinant, and Czenstochow. But this does not by any means explain the more dreadful and deliberate deeds later on. A course of prosperity and success for a long while gave to Germans conviction of ability and superiority, and a sense of beneficent mission to be wrought out by force. More and more they have come to interpret things altogether in terms of their own ideals. Their God is a German God, and the nation a chosen people. And so it is that if other nations be inferior and Germans the best judge of that which is well to be done, then anything hard or rigorous or heartless can be carried out for the sake of ultimate good, and it is right that anything should be done for the happiness and success of the better race. The author does not speak of it, but such a sense of superiority made possible once the treatment accorded by feudal aristocracy to the servile peasants beneath them, and it causes white men now in some countries to mutilate negroes and torture and burn them at the stake.

The outrages committed in Belgium, in France, in Poland, against the Russians, and also by the Russians in eastern Germany, are related as "Alleged Atrocities," and they detail not so much the author's opinions as the official reports and the best accounts now at hand. We should judge, however, that he believes them, and they would indeed seem to present a strange and credible record of crime and lust and murder and death by fire and steel. More dreadful still, we think, is the story of the thorough and awful exploitation of the districts conquered, in accordance with ideas well explained by publicists before the war, and justified by German leaders at present. The system of requisitions, said von Hartmann, implies the full exploitation of a country in all respects. As the Russians retired across Poland German officials settled down upon the country like a swarm of locusts, stopping all industry, taking the food, and leaving the miserable inhabitants in degradation and ruin. "Lodz is stricken with famine," said von Hindenburg. "That is deplorable, but it is good. One does not carry on a war upon sentimental principles." After a while, it was said, not a child under seven years remained alive in the country. Since this volume was written the evacuation of the district around Noyon has revealed the plight of the French civilians. After appeals in the name of God the Father, the devoted population of Belgium was kept alive by the private and public charity of the world, which fur-

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nished about $200,000,000, just enough to sustain the people in scanty and meagre fashion; but the author shows that during this very period money, materials, machinery, and supplies of five times the value were seized upon and taken to Germany.

If this book arouses intense interest, if it affords a vast amount of information, if it contributes richly to an understanding of the problems which beset us, its pages are filled with records dreary and terrible. We should like to doubt many of the things which are related, and we should be glad to deny them, but these pages carry conviction. And in so far as they are true, even now we behold Germany gibbeted upon a lonely eminence of infamy, and because of them in times more remote the German name may still be hated and despised.

## Not Virile

*Anchorage.* By Florence Olmstead. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

*The Rubbish Heap.* By "Rita." New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

*If Wishes Were Horses.* By the Countess Barcynska. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

*Edith Bonham.* By Mary Hallock Foote. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

IF it is true that the most grateful tribute one can now pay to the art of a woman is the word "virile," it may still be suspected that what we really respond to in a woman's story or picture or play is its feminine quality. This ought to be so surely, unless, after all, woman is intrinsically inferior to man, which we gather is not the proposition to be demonstrated. Scott recognized a fine, clear note in Miss Austen quite beyond his own big male "bow-wow" range, and it is the idlest of fancies that modern novelists among women, from George Eliot to Mrs. Wharton, have succeeded because they wrote "like men." Among lesser story-tellers there is no inconsiderable range of essentially feminine merit. The author of "Anchorage" here adds to her series of pleasant idyllic tales, of the kind that used to be known as "summer reading" before that term became invidious. Her settings and plots are as simple as possible: a quiet neighborhood, a few nice people, a delicate tapping, it may be, of the romantic triangle, and the ending which is not ashamed to be happy. This writer appears not to have noticed that the fashionable world, even of romance, no longer moves towards the marriage ceremony as its divine event. Here is the quiet chronicle of a crippled poet, the girl of his fancy, and the woman of his heart. "The Rubbish Heap" is a story on a more ambitious scale. The present action is based on a mysterious past involving the dramatic or melodramatic adventure of an English painter in Ireland. The painter thinks he has killed a man there, the villain of the piece, but still a man. The thing preys upon him, he gives up his career, which has already touched fame, and becomes a recluse. The villain's son grows up, likewise the villain's illegitimate daughter by the Irish peasant girl who has been his victim. In this narrative Fate brings all these persons together, and after imposing suitable tribulations and cross-purposes permits as comfortable an adjustment as may be under the conditions. The young Anglo-Frenchman of genius is a more tolerable person than most of his "artist" kind, as fiction presents and represents them. If we do not quite believe in his masterpieces, we are at least able to find some pleasure in his company. As for his half-sister Mara, with her unhappy origin and mystical powers, she is a figure of romantic pathos, the changeling whose lot among men may be eased but never made blessed.

"If Wishes Were Horses" is a novel of greater scope and humor, its romance is less conventional, and there is no mistaking its desire to face the facts of life in the modern way. It owes much to Mr. Bennett and Mr. Wells. The leading man is one of those staving gentry of the British lower middle class who succeed in pushing themselves "up in the world" by means, as it were, of applied caddishness. Martin Leffley takes his first step upwards from his clerkship in a mineral-water concern by inventing a new temperance drink. He drives a sharp bargain for it with his employers, and is presently on the way to a competency. But his ambition does not end there; he aspires to political power, and his glib tongue and knack of manipulating data to gain his immediate end presently bring him local repute as a speaker. Though he has no strong principles, his natural "lay" seems to be that of spokesman for his own class. But he is easily bribed to become the parliamentary tool of capitalism. His future appears safe, and he moves steadily on in a success which culminates in knighthood. Then his moral turpitude begins to bear fruit and his inevitable punishment ensues. Even his political masters despise him, and turn him off when his methods cease to be useful. His children are forced to see him as he is, and his paltriness is revealed at last to the faithful wife who has so long insisted upon idealizing him. Something, through her love and devotion, is still to be rescued out of life for him, since there is, after all, a sound strain in him that responds to her love. As for the feminine quality of the book, it may suffice to say that a man, Mr. Bennett or Mr. Wells, for example, would have made Martin Leffley more interesting by making him more human; and that on the other hand a man would hardly have compassed the interpretation of the good and sweet Rose, Martin's wife, beneath whose sweetness and goodness and apparent softness lie unshakable integrity and beauty of character.

Mrs. Foote's work has lost nothing of its quality with the years. It is a comfort, in this day of hasty writing, to take up a story so firm in outline and so gracious in manner as "Edith Bonham." The motive is familiar enough, the fastidious Eastern girl and the rough, masterful man of the West, and the painful working-out of their relation. There are unusual barriers of circumstance. The girl Edith, who tells the story, forms a devoted girl-friendship with a fellow-pupil in a New York School of Design, upon which Anne's sudden marriage to a Western mining engineer roughly intrudes. Anne becomes a morbidly devoted mother, and Edith, left adrift by her own family, consents to become a member of the household upon the far Western mesa, to help care for the all-important children. While she is journeying westward, Anne dies, and Edith arrives to find herself in an anomalous position. She dislikes and distrusts the widower Maclay, without knowing him, as a hard man who has been unworthy of the dead wife. Nevertheless, she cannot desert the motherless children when she finds that he wishes her to stay. Himself she rebuffs on all occasions, so that the man's natural reticence is deepened, and, rather illogically, she thinks him a bear. He is away at his mines

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most of the time; but gradually the situation changes, they are drawn together insensibly. Meanwhile the gossip of a near-by garrison community is stirring itself, and Maclay, getting wind of it, abruptly offers Edith marriage. Thereupon the over-sensitive Easterner turns and rends him as the insulter of his wife's memory and his wife's friend. A long estrangement follows, to be resolved in the end by the woman's discovery that life cannot sensibly be sacrificed to a dream of the past, and that the living have their rights as well as the dead. One cannot deny that there appears to be a good deal of artifice in the maintenance of their mutual misunderstanding. Perhaps we may best say simply that this is a romance, and that it is a recognized artifice of romance to prevent the course of true love from running too smoothly. Or we may fairly assure ourselves that, given two natures of such hypersensitiveness as Edith and Maclay, any degree of fantastic misapprehension may result. The woman, moreover, displays much of that feminine egoism, that intensity of demand upon one's fellow-creatures, which is the bane of so many carefully nurtured American women. There is a final chapter of "later words," by Phœbe, the child who has taught Edith to be a mother, in which the benignant years of the woman who had found herself are affectionately summed up. So much for the crude substance of the book: its merit lies elsewhere, in the quiet and sure rendering of that substance by a delicate womanly hand.

## Collectors' Handbooks

*Old Pottery and Porcelain.* By Fred. W. Burgess. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

*The Quest of the Quaint.* By Virginia Robie. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $2 net.

*The Practical Book of Early American Arts and Crafts.* By Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Abbot McClure. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $6 net.

*The Art of Interior Decoration.* By Grace Wood and Emily Burbank. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50 net.

*The New Interior: Modern Decorations for the Modern Home.* By Hazel H. Adler. New York: The Century Co. $3 net.

EACH of the first two volumes under review—additions to an already prodigious list of books for amateur collectors of antiques—has a certain reason for being in that it summarizes and popularizes the findings of several recent publications of an antiquarian or technical character. In both the bulk of the work consists of a rewriting of usual material. Yet, for even a modicum of relatively new data the reviewer gives thanks.

Philistinism of tone and attitude, it must be confessed, abounds in Mr. Burgess's book. The recurrence of the detestable word "curio," mouthed by gentry who "pursue their hobbies," is characteristic. So are patronizing statements, of which one concerning the "crudely drawn figures, arabesques, and other decorations on Saracenic pottery" is typical. These fictile products of the Orient, it is indicated, are well enough of their kind, but they, of course, are not comparable with eighteenth-century English porcelains, "adorned with exquisite painting closely imitating natural objects, such as scenic views, flowers, birds, insects, and sea shells." This reaction towards realism is certainly not that of advanced ceramic collectors.

Mr. Burgess's summaries of facts about the Romano-British and Irish potteries add materially to the customary data of collectors' handbooks. The story of the English pottery district has lately been traced back into remote antiquity through the researches of T. Arthur Acton, of Wrexham, as set forth in proceedings of the Chester and North Wales Archæological Society, and one is surprised to learn here that antiquaries have already listed more than 1,100 separate Roman marks, an indication of the importance of the potting industry just before the break-up of the Empire. Irish pottery enters the record through a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy by S. Dudley Westropp, in which fictile developments in Erin were traced from coarse cups and cinerary urns found in crannogs down through Belfast, Dublin, and Limerick Delft wares of modern times.

Ceramics of the British Isles are emphasized to the extent of about two-thirds of the book. In the allotment of space to potteries of other peoples haphazard appears to have ruled. The Chinese and Japanese have a fairly generous allowance, the account showing familiarity with the discoveries of Dr. Berthold Laufer and other investigators. Except, however, for a reference in the introduction nothing is said about the Persian and Anatolian wares which have had the collecting world agog ever since the Exposition des arts mussulmans at Paris, in 1903. Although he is a fellow-countryman of Sir Arthur Evans, the author seems to know nothing of the fictile relics of the wonderful Cretan civilization now interesting archæologists. The assignment of a page and one-half to Spain and Portugal is surely inadequate even in a sketchy compilation; no mention is made, for example, of prehistoric Iberian wares, such as those described by M. Émile Cartaillac in "La caverne d'Altamira." American potteries do not bulk large in a world-wide conspectus, but they should not be dismissed with an assertion that "although some of the American factories are of respectable age, few date back to a time when old china, as judged by an English standpoint, was being made." Dr. E. A. Barber, as Mr. Burgess might be reminded, has established the fact that pottery was made in Virginia prior to 1649 and that the Germans of Pennsylvania produced many quite ambitious works in the eighteenth century. A pottery still active at Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been in continuous operation since 1765 and is therefore nearly as old, if not so famous, as the manufacture at the English Worcester. Several other ceramic ventures were started here before 1800. Yet Mr. Burgess gives his readers an impression that American pottery began with the making of Queen's ware at Pittsburgh in 1854. He says nothing of the Mexican majolicas, a very early, conspicuously important, and really artistic product.

"The Quest of the Quaint," a book of 267 pages with good pictures, is well named. Whether it has been well projected is to be seen. Its effect, apparently, may be to increase among amateurs a tendency, already marked, to turn to the arts of the Victorian era. The author brings into the field of consideration a box of valentines made "in the days when flowers were 'posies' and letters 'missives.'" This adventure, prompted by a discovery of her own, she was led to continue through learning of the great valentine collection made by Frank H. Baer, of Cleveland. Enthusiasm for American bandboxes of the "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" period was fired by the examples of David

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Belasco and Alexander Drake. To a follower of the seasonal sales of objects of art it became evident that the day of the Bennington Dog had dawned when somebody in New York paid ninety-five dollars for one solitary cabinet canine from the Vermont kiln.

The net result of these and other divagations from the beaten tracks of collecting may be to hasten the day (*absit omen*) when habitués of auction rooms will compete for cast-iron dogs that once graced urban doorsteps and deer that still grace but do not graze upon the lawns surrounding mansions with mansard roofs; for cigar-store Indians, whatnots, black walnut centre tables, crazy quilts, painted velvet fruit pieces, decalcomanias, chromos of "Fast Asleep" and "Wide Awake," and even for Rogers groups!

This is Miss Robie's original contribution in the book. Chapters on such topics as Lowestoft Lore, The House of a Thousand Jugs, Hunting Highboys, Over Colonial Teacups, and The Romance of Glass involve more or less reviewing of familiar material. The excuse at least is present that the records of recent exhibition sales have been freely drawn upon. Much, of course, that is of historical and artistic value comes to light at all these sales, and it is a good thing for connoisseurship, professional and amateur, that some one is following them for book "copy."

Of the other books listed above that of Messrs. Eberlein and McClure is the most scholarly and comprehensive; the two volumes on decoration are more desultory and suggestive, though they offer useful hints and helps for amateurs.

Overcoming the bad impression made by the cheap "selling point" implied in the title word "practical," one finds that in the "Book of Early American Arts and Crafts" the authors have effectively summarized several authoritative historical studies, including articles in museum bulletins which more and more present results of research. Their personal contributions are principally in train of their familiar excursions into the history of colonial architecture and furniture. To discoveries made by the late Dr. E. A. Barber, of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, is due much of the information about Mexican glass and majolica, American glass (the narrative of Baron Stiegel's career also showing indebtedness to Frederick William Hunter's monograph), and Pennsylvania and other potteries. The chapter on silver reproduces many data from exhibition catalogues of the Metropolitan and Boston Museums, from J. H. Buck's "Old Silver Plate," and from E. Alfred Jones's "Old Silver of American Churches." For pewter the compilers have consulted Malcolm Bell and Edwards J. Gale (whose Christian name is misspelled in the bibliography). Henry Chapman Mercer's investigations in metal work and other arts of the Pennsylvania Germans are naturally followed, as are the textile publications of Marcus B. Huish, Eliza Calvert Hall, and Marie D. Webster.

To indicate these sources is tantamount to showing that the owner of this book has the substance of very valuable researches. Completeness, nevertheless, is impossible when so much new material bearing on colonial arts and crafts is continually coming to light. The present authors' list, for example, of some forty early American pewterers has been more than tripled by a study undertaken in connection with the Boston Museum's pewter exhibition of December, 1916. A biography of Samuel McIntire, wood carver, published almost simultaneously with the work under consideration, contains matter which might supplement the account known to Messrs. Eberlein and McClure. A chapter on early portraiture, which expressly omits names like those of West and Copley, these belonging to the history of the fine arts, could have referred to other humble limners besides Witt, Hesselius, Haidt, and Hicks; the recent furore for such "primitives" as Thomas Savage, Joseph Badger, John Greenwood, and St. Memin comes to mind. Allowing, however, for more or less inevitable incompleteness, the book is a good compendium of its subject, well written, well illustrated, well made.

Acceptance of "period rooms" in "The Art of Interior Decoration," revolt from them in "The New Interior," are phrases that tell the chief difference between books of somewhat similar literary quality. Both have the same fault—one might dare say feminine failing—of skipping from topic to topic without much logical connection; from "textiles in Gothic art" to "candlesticks, lamps, fixtures for gas and electricity"; from "the little touches" by which a home is beautified to "the emancipation of the dining-room."

The books, in fact, diverge not so much through a difference in detailed precepts as in supposedly fundamental points of view. Mrs. Adler is of the modernists, ready—except, of course, in actual practice where it is impossible—to quit the slavish custom of following styles and periods. Her work is dedicated "to the pioneers of the new movement and especially to the one who inspired me to join the ranks." The authors of the other work hold to the artistic philosophy of the distant past, say, of ten or fifteen years ago, as is proved by personal references to Clyde Fitch, Geraldine Farrar, and Mrs. John L. Gardner, by much eulogizing of good taste, and by other marks of the superseded school that lately thought itself modern.

For "good taste" Mrs. Adler substitutes "the new taste." She urges that "it seems no longer feasible to doubt our ability to found a new decorative period—that of twentieth-century American!—and to sever our slavish dependence upon other times and other countries." Amid much sound advice this note of the "new spread-eagleism" is rather frequently raised in the book. A chapter on A New System of Color Organization reveals Henry Fitch Taylor in the rôle of another New York apostle—one knew about Messrs. Maratta and Sloan—of orderly thinking in color, following lines that probably originated in Dr. Denman Ross's studies in linear and color notation begun at Cambridge at least quarter of a century ago. Both books are prettily illustrated, the latter with several pictures in color.

## The Trustee of the Pacific

*The New Pacific.* British Policy and German Aims. By C. Brunsdon Fletcher. New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.

THE simple experiment of turning a terrestrial globe upside down will demonstrate the geographical importance of Australia in the Pacific. That great island is the natural centre of a watery world sprinkled with almost endless archipelagos. From a convict colony, Australia has advanced, within little more than a century, to the status of an autonomous commonwealth owing but a nominal allegiance to the parent state. It has grown in wealth, population, and ambition; and now has taken its place in the ranks of the free peoples fighting for the Rights of

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Man. Its part in the present struggle has not been confined to sending armed forces to the main seat of the war. Australia has also seized the German possessions in the South Pacific, the islands lying nearest to her shores, and this seizure further perplexes difficult problems, which were far from solution when the war began.

These problems are set forth by an Australian journalist, Mr. C. B. Fletcher, in his book, "The New Pacific." It cannot be described as well written or clearly arranged. His indictment of German aims amounts to very little. The Teutonic plots are mares' nests. The Germans did what the English did. They traded for profit; they seized territory, and they exploited it. Mr. Fletcher passes lightly over the notorious evils of Australian "black-birding," and adduces nothing that can be called proof of "German perfidy." None the less, the book deserves the attention of American students of the whole political situation. The United States has large interests in the Pacific. It was an American writer, Herman Melville, who discovered the literary possibilities of the South Seas. The Australians are much more "American" in temperament than the English from whom they sprang. They have a keen interest in the United States, as was shown by their reception of the fleet in 1908; and they look to America for improved trade relations, although they feel that Americans have little interest in them.

A preoccupation of Australian statesmen is the fear of invasion. They guard a huge, empty continent against the intrusion of alien races, and they aim at a homogeneous white nation. The object-lessons of the negroes in the United States and the French in Canada are not lost on them. Australia is next door to over-populated Asia; the teeming millions of India and China are thrusting forth into the unoccupied parts of the Pacific. Hence Australia has put herself in a posture of defence, introducing universal military training in order to provide land forces, and far outstripping Canada in a naval policy which will afford her protection by sea. "Peaceful penetration" is as much a danger as actual invasion. Therefore Australia is striving to root out German business and German influence within her own borders and throughout her sphere of influence in Polynesia.

In 1883, the most northern colony, Queensland, annexed that part of New Guinea which lay nearest to it, just across Torres Straits. Holland and Germany had already seized other portions of the island. Since the war broke out, Australian and New Zealand forces have taken and are administering German New Guinea and German Samoa. They have begun, in Mr. Fletcher's words, to think of them as British. "It is impossible to discuss a Pacific thrown back into the old conditions." This determination is distinctly opposed to the principle of "no indemnities and no annexations," and President Wilson's weighty deliverance, "No territory must change hands, except for the purpose of securing to those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty." But it is possible that a way may be found out of the *impasse*.

Another of Australia's problems outlined here is the labor problem. Almost half the "isle of continent" lies north of the tropic of Capricorn. A tropical area of a million square miles contains a population of less than a quarter of a million, including 100,000 natives. It has vast undeveloped resources, which must apparently remain undeveloped, because the white man cannot do heavy manual labor in tropical heat, even for extravagant wages. The question is, Shall all this territory lie idle? Apparently it can only be developed by cheap Asiatic labor; but the doctrine of a white Australia stands in the way of the incoming of the coolie and the Indian. The policy resembles that of the dog in the manger. If the Englishman were in the least adaptable, and would learn how to live and modify his habits in tropical conditions, there might be hope; but the Englishman is the least adaptable of human beings.

One melancholy reflection must occur to the lover of romance. Till now one part of the world, Oceanica, was free from the greed of gain. "Omoo" and "Typee" suggested a terrestrial paradise "of endless islands," lily on lily that o'erlace the sea. "Vailima Letters" confirmed that impression. Now the native is learning the curse of Adam. The trader awakes his covetousness with European gewgaws for which he must labor to produce the copra or coco-nuts by which the strange white man sets such store. The missionary joins hands with his natural enemy the trader, because it is not good for the convert to live in idleness. It is only a question of time when Commerce shall have hunted Romance out of her last refuge.

# Notes

THE following volumes are announced for immediate publication by the Oxford University Press: "The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy," Gifford Lectures, by A. Seth Pringle Pattison; "The Mechanism of Exchange," by John A. Todd; "An Advanced Atlas of Physical and Political Geography," by J. G. Bartholomew; "Italy, Medieval and Modern," by E. M. Jamieson and others; "The Eastern Question," by J. A. R. Marriott.

Harper & Brothers announce for immediate publication "Ranny," by Howard Brubaker, and "Rapid-Fire English, French, German," compiled for the use of the soldier going abroad by a committee who have had practical work in teaching foreign languages to troops in training.

The following are among the announcements for July of Longmans, Green & Company: "The Method in the Madness," by Edwyn R. Bevan; "What Germany Is Fighting For," by Sir Charles Waldstein; "The First Violations of International Law by Germany (Luxembourg and Belgium)," by Louis Renault, translated by Frank Carr; "International Conventions and Third States," by Ronald F. Roxburgh; "Life and Letters of Maggie Benson," by Arthur C. Benson; "Finished," by Rider Haggard; "Off with the Old Love," by Guy Fleming; "Book of the Happy Warrior," by Sir Henry Newbolt; "Days of Destiny," by R. Gorell Barnes; "Horace and His Age," by J. F. D'Alton; "Theory of Knowledge," by Peter Coffey; "Thrice Through the Dark Continent," by J. du Plessis; "Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne," by Henry Melville Gwatkin; "The New Testament," by Rev. Alexander Nairne; "The Acathist Hymn" (Greek and English), edited by the late W. J. Birkbeck and turned into English verse by G. R. Woodward; "The Town Labourer, 1760-1832," by J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond; "English Literature," by Herbert Bates.

AUGUST publications of Frederick A. Stokes Company are announced as follows: "Kiddies," by J. J. Bell; "Carmen's Messenger," by Harold Bindloss; "A Young Lion

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of Flanders," by J. Van Ammers Kueller; "Anne's House of Dreams," by L. M. Montgomery; "Flowers I Love," by Katharine Cameron; "The Play Way," by H. Caldwell Cook; "Man as He Is," by Sir Bampfylde Fuller; "The Camera as Historian," by H. D. Gower, L. S. Jast, and W. W. Topley; "President Wilson. From an English Point of View," by H. Wilson Harris; "Pictures and Other Passages from Henry James," by Ruth Head; "The Elephant," by Agnes Herbert; "By the Waters of Africa," by Norma Lorimer; "The Lost Cities of Ceylon," by G. E. Mitton; "What Is Instinct?" by C. Bingham Newland; "The Cradle of Our Lord," by John Oxenham; "Kitchener in His Own Words," by J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser; "Told in the Huts," the Y. M. C. A. Giftbook; "A Pilgrimage with a Milliner's Needle," by Anna Walther.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON confesses that he wrote his "Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868–1885" (Dutton), mainly to distract his mind from the war. We can but hope it served his need better than it will that of his readers. For Lord George is of the type of English public men who are dogged hard workers and, no doubt, useful servants of the state, but who are little gifted with the pen, which they hold in a heavy hand. And these notes of events during twenty years of Parliamentary experience contain little that is novel or exhilarating. Lord George has severe things to say about the "dry bones of political economy," but omits to mention that he clung to one dry bone himself in a way to do him much honor—we mean his standing by his free-trade convictions at the cost of a break with Joseph Chamberlain and exclusion from office. Many personal characterizations occur in his pages, but few of them are penetrating or enlivening. One of the best of the lot is of Bishop Magee, whom Lord George first knew as an eloquent preacher in the Chapel Royal, Dublin. We cite a part of the account of Magee's speech in the House of Lords against the Home Rule bill: "I arrived in the House of Lords after he had been speaking about ten minutes. It was an extraordinary sight. The House was packed, . . . and there was a plain pigmy of a man speaking at a table. But so completely had he already dominated his audience that a large proportion of them was unconsciously listening to him with open mouths, expressive of wonder and delight. . . . The close of his speech was the most daring and powerful peroration that I ever heard; and it must have been impromptu." Lord George Hamilton verifies for us the old story of Archbishop Trench pinching the leg of a lady next him at dinner, thinking it his own, and believing that the absence of sensation proved the beginning of the paralysis of which he lived in fear. The lady was Lord George's mother.

PRECISELY the sort of sentimental concoction devoted to "Romance and Legend of the Flower Garden and the Bye-Way" that is irresistibly alluring to a certain fragrant part of the American public will be found in "The Fragrant Note Book," by C. Arthur Coan (Putnam; $2.50 net). It tells of "little human friends" and of violets "so like these baby chums. Don't you really believe," asks the author winningly, "that the violets suck their thumbs when they go to sleep on their pillows of moss? I am sure that they do, especially the little monkey-faced white ones. If you doubt it, come to my dingle dell and watch them any evening when the sandman is making his rounds." Dimly printed flowers in light brown, covering the entire page margin and all, are a suitable adornment throughout the volume.

EVEN in wartime Margaret Talbot Jackson's book, "The Museum, a Manual of the Housing and Care of Art Collections" (Longmans; $1.75 net), should not fail of its public. It is based upon abundant experience in American museums and upon wide observation of those of Europe. It touches with intelligence every consideration of planning, lighting, exhibition, purchase, and administration. Especially commendable is the author's scorn of casual planning, costly monumentality, and waste space—the cardinal defects of many of our new museums. Nothing would more make for the education of those public-spirited laymen who are our museum trustees than a careful perusal of this volume. There are a few instructive plans and other illustrations.

IN "Karl Bitter, a Biography," a thin volume of less than seventy text pages printed by the University of Chicago Press and published under the auspices of the National Sculpture Society, the sculptor's brother-in-law, Ferdinand Schevill, tells, in somewhat too emotional and romantic language, the essentially romantic story of the young Austrian who, landing in New York in his twenty-second year with scarce a penny in his pocket, was, before three years had passed, executing the colossal scheme of sculpture upon the Administration Building of the World's Fair at Chicago. He was killed by a reckless automobile driver before he had reached the age of forty-eight, having been Director of Sculpture at three Expositions, a member of the Art Commission of New York city, and twice President of the Sculpture Society. Such a career is evidence enough of an unusual character as well as of unusual talents, and Mr. Schevill makes us see the honesty, the energy, the tact, the great organizing ability, and the public spirit which accomplished so much—above all, he makes us see the intense Americanism of one who was an American by choice rather than by the accident of birth. Of his talent the thirty-odd illustrations of his works give a fairer opportunity of judging than could be had by anything short of a pilgrimage to the sites of the originals. The time has not yet come for a definite summing up of that talent, but one may think none the less highly of it for believing that, while he was something more, Bitter was essentially what he sometimes wearied of being called, a decorative sculptor —that the design and the appropriateness to their place, the unity with their settings and surroundings, were the greatest quality of even his more independent statues. Decorative art is art in service, and the art of Karl Bitter was always undertaken in the true social spirit. The lesson of his life is that the artist may be, and should be, as well as the soldier, the statesman, or the industrialist, a great public servant.

PROF. W. A. NEILSON'S "Robert Burns" is a pretty satisfactory solution of the rather difficult problem set by the designer of the Bobbs-Merrill Company's How-to-Know-Him series. The editorial problem was apparently to devise a book capable of passing with applause between the devil and the deep sea. It was necessary on the one hand to appease the critical reader, and on the other hand to feed the unread multitude. To serve these two ends the book needed to be a cross between a critical biography

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and a volume of selections. Burns lends himself readily to both methods of exposition. The straight way to know Burns is of course to read him. To those who have not taken that step, Professor Neilson presents more than a hundred of Burns's poems, including all the favorite songs, the best satires and epistles, and extensive specimens of his descriptive and narrative poetry. The quoted passages occupy two-thirds of the volume. The selections are admirably adapted to illustrate the entire compass of the poet's interests, which was extraordinarily wide. This means that Professor Neilson has presented his author not in the spirit of a prude or a narrowly academic professor or of a fastidious puritan, but in the spirit of a genial, native-born Scotchman with a more or less instinctive understanding of "Scotch drink, Scotch morals, and Scotch religion." The writer of this notice recalls hearing a Scotch elder in Edinburgh telling how he and another elder, very "douce," slipped out from a church conference in Dumfries to toast the national bard in two bottles of lemonade in the snug little grog-room off an alley, where Burns and his cronies pledged one another in the national drink. The gentle contempt expressed by this elder for the soft substitution insisted upon by his "douce brither" Professor Neilson apparently feels for those who expurgate Burns or apologize for him. His commentary, simple, straightforward, candid, appreciative, aims to present the man as he was, without the mystical glamour projected upon him by Carlyle, and without the somewhat over-severe shadow of reproach under which Stevenson left him. Professor Neilson's Burns is a companion to relish—a rich mixture of admirable principles, quick and tender sympathies, honesty and affectation, lusty appetite, poetical ardors and fine sensibilities, ruddy humanity, and devastating and ruinous good-nature. It is certainly saying nothing against the book to say that the firm impression it makes is mainly produced by the poems, well chosen and well arranged and, with the marginal glossary, easily read. Their effect, however, is reinforced by a skilful, compact biography, a clear, thoroughly informed chapter on Burns's language and his literary antecedents, a running commentary on the selections, and a critical summary.

THE recently published biography of Anne de Graville, by Maxime de Montmorand (Auguste Picard), is confessedly devoted to a figure of secondary importance. Its value lies, as the author perceives, not in the somewhat limited account of the inconspicuous career of this disinherited lady of the Renaissance, who penned rondeaux and translated the "Teseide" for Queen Claude. As a biography it adds little to what has been previously known. The valuable feature of the book is its accumulation of interesting related material, radiating in various directions from Anne as a centre, and concerned with her ancestors, her contemporaries, and her descendants. Her elopement with Pierre de Balsac directs attention to the marriage laws of her time; her relations with Margaret of Navarre, to the growth of French Protestantism; her literary work, to the continued popularity of mannered forms of verse in the early years of the French Renaissance. The third division of the book, "La Postérité d'Anne de Graville," introduces such diverse subjects as Henry III and his "mignons"; the famous library established by Claude D'Urfé; the religious devotion of Mlle. d'Épernon, intimate friend of Madame de Longueville and "la grande Mademoiselle," and a century later the seductions and intrigues of the notorious Casanova. Historical interests such as these have entirely justified M. de Montmorand in completing his studies and publishing materials accumulated before the beginning of the present war.

THERE is apparently always room for another book about François Villon. The latest contribution is by H. De Vere Stacpoole, under the title "François Villon: His Life and Times" (Putnam; $2 net). It represents no new discoveries, presents no new facts. It is rather an appreciative, somewhat impressionistic interpretation of the most picturesque figure in early French poetry. Mr. Stacpoole's interest centres in Villon the man, as revealed in the ballades and rondels of his that have survived, particularly in the "Petit Testament" and the "Grand Testament." *Milieu* and the scholarship that is concerned with restoring this accurately bit by bit he is inclined to speak of slightingly. But he makes constant use of the results of sound scholarship, both for details of the poet's career and for the panorama of life in France in the fifteenth century. Indeed, Mr. Stacpoole's effective portrayal of this background, glowing with movement and color, and fantastic like a gargoyle, is one of the most attractive features of his very readable book. It is to be regretted, however, that what may be called the literary *milieu* did not interest him equally with the social one. It would have been of value to him in such considerations as the current inaccuracy of knowledge concerning historical characters, the conventional contemplation of death and its

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ravages, and the vogue of the testament as a type of literature. Interest is added to Mr. Stacpoole's book by a series of very satisfying verse translations of some of Villon's less-known poems.

IN thirty-seven stately quarto volumes the "Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army," has now completed its second series, the final volume of Series Two, "Waterworth-Zysman," having just issued from the Government Printing Office. Although the work is apparently to be perennial, the initiation of a third series being already in preparation, the time seems fitting to give some account of what is undoubtedly one of the finest achievements of scientific bibliography and of the institution from which it emanates. The Surgeon-General's Library, which is famed in medical circles throughout the world, began some time prior to 1836 as a small collection of books gathered for the official use of Surgeon-General Joseph Lovell. In 1865 it amounted to only 2,253 volumes. The subsequent upbuilding of the library was due chiefly to the genius and energy of the late Dr. John S. Billings, to whom, in conjunction with the late Dr. Robert Fletcher, the world owes both the Index-Catalogue and its companion work, the Index Medicus. At the present time the library contains 224,522 volumes, 337,120 pamphlets, and 5,249 portraits of physicians, besides an excellent collection of medical medals, coins, and jettons. The library long since reached the stage at which its growth became spontaneous, owing to the gravitation to it of appropriate material from every corner of the earth. It is now unusual for a physician in this country to publish anything of a professional nature without sending an unsolicited copy to the great library in Washington, and a flood of similar material comes from abroad. The leading medical journals of the United States now send to the library all reprints of papers published by them as they appear. Many important collections have also been received as legacies or as gifts from living donors.

THE general plan of the Index-Catalogue, in the form of a combined author and subject index arranged in dictionary order in a single alphabet, was devised by Drs. Billings and Fletcher, and the system of subject rubrics, with their cross-references, was blocked out by them before the publication of the initial volume, in 1880. Perhaps only bibliographers can realize how admirably the work was planned, and how well it has served its purpose, notwithstanding the rapid progress of medical knowledge and the resulting vicissitudes in ideas of classification and terminology that have occurred in the past thirty-six years. The Index-Catalogue presents, of course, the disadvantage common to all works of reference that progress in a deliberate way through the alphabet. The entries under A in the current series come down only to the year 1896, while some of those under W to Z, in the volume just published, are of the year 1916. A partial remedy for this defect is found in the monthly bibliography of medicine known as the Index Medicus, which was published under the direction of Drs. Billings and Fletcher from 1879 to 1899 and, after being discontinued on account of inadequate financial support, was resumed with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Institution in 1903. This work is, however, only cumulative by means of yearly indexes, and it is therefore welcome news that the Library of Congress has undertaken to print catalogue cards for all books and pamphlets coming into the Surgeon-General's Library after July 1, 1916. These cards will be sold by the Library of Congress, so that files of them may be maintained in public and private libraries throughout the country. The thirty-seven volumes of the Index-Catalogue contain no less than 346,176 author entries; while of subject entries there are 304,962 for books and 1,156,669 for articles in journals.

# To the Great Republic, the United States

[M. Flach's stirring tribute to the United States, which was printed in the *Nation* of June 28, has naturally called forth commendation from our readers, but also a number of metrical translations into English. From those received we have selected for publication the following by Mrs. Josiah Royce as the one which best expresses the spirit of the original lines.—ED. THE NATION.]

IS the primal creation reborn in our days
As poets have dreamed?—Oh frightful abyss
Of blood, sword, and fire, and cruelties foul,
What fate dost thou bring in thy horrible floods?

Oh could we but see the infinite pain,
As God only can know, of one great breaking heart,
From equator to pole, of millions of men!
Oh could we but hear the agonized cries
Of innocent victims, defenceless and frail,
Destroyed in his rage by the wild beast unchained!

But now from the depths of the monstrous abyss
A radiance springs, to astonish the world,
And heavenward soaring, sublime sacred love
Throbs for liberty, country, and God.

Piercing the night of dread horror infernal,
On the distant horizon bright stars float on high,
The bearers of peace and of justice ideal
They pour from above their glory triumphal,
As in the beginning the light swept away
The shades of dark chaos; forerunners divine,
Forever they shine for every nation
That struggles and suffers enwreathéd with thorns,
The token of safety, the sign of salvation.

Oh fair land of freedom from whence rise the stars,
Who leads all the world to its regeneration,
Who dreams of blue skies, unchanging, unveiled,
Who springs up at the call of the suffering world,
We hail thee, brave people, a race trebly great!

Thy image colossal on ocean's far rim
Which the French sculptor shaped to give praise to thy gifts,
An imperfect symbol to picture thy worth,
Erect, sword in hand to forbid tyranny,
To stamp out the crime of the reign of brute force,
Justice and liberty fashion thy crown
With the pure love of humankind all interlaced.
At the gates of futurity shines thy clear brow,
A glorious beacon, immortally fair.

KATHARINE ROYCE

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# The St. James's and Other Theatres

THE St. James's is one of the very few theatres in London at which a moderately high standard of effort—if not always of achievement—is consistently maintained. It has good traditions. The first decided steps towards a revival of English drama were due to Sir George Alexander's insight and courage. It was at the St. James's that Wilde made his first success with "Lady Windermere's Fan," and Pinero attained maturity with "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray." During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since those days, the theatre has been the scene of much admirable endeavor and of not a few memorable successes. The Haymarket, with two centuries of history behind it, is the one rival of the St. James's for the primacy among present-day London playhouses.

A St. James's first-night is therefore something of an event; and we looked forward with special interest to "Sheila," by Miss Githa Sowerby, because we remembered the striking ability shown in that lady's prentice piece, "Rutherford & Son." The new play was not wholly a disappointment, but still less did it fulfil our expectations. So long as we did not realize what it was all about, we found it very clever and agreeable; but when, at the end of the second act, we found that the whole thing turned upon an impalpable and almost incredible nicety of sentiment, our interest collapsed, never to revive.

The first act is a mere prologue. Sheila West, a girl of nineteen, is an assistant typist in the establishment of Mark Holdsworth, a very successful business man, verging on middle age. Sheila is not very clever at her work, and thinks that Mr. Holdsworth despises her because he always looks at her with a sort of ironic smile. When he one day asks her to remain after business hours, she fully anticipates dismissal, and is correspondingly amazed when he proposes marriage to her. Of course, it would be very unbecoming in her to jump at him right away; but as he is really an extremely amiable man, we feel no uneasiness as to her ultimate reply. Nor do we see any reason why the marriage should not be a very happy one.

And as a matter of fact there *is* no reason—that is the fatal defect of the play. Sheila, though full of natural refinement, is shy and awkward in society, and her husband's envious relations do not make things easier for her; but he himself is all kindness and consideration, so that a very little common-sense on her part would smooth away all difficulties. But one of the envious relations, a lady who had hoped to obtain Mark for herself, tells her that he did not marry her for love, but only because he wanted to have a son to inherit his name and fortune; and instantly Sheila is ablaze with resentment. The account of Mark's motives is not wholly unfounded; but, whatever may have been the case when he proposed to her, there is not the least doubt that he now loves her with all his heart and soul; so that a mere man can see no good reason for the bitterness of Sheila's humiliation and the vehemence of her anger. Perhaps we are here intruding upon one of those mysteries of womanhood into which we have no right to pry; but, in that case, why should Miss Sowerby expect us to understand her heroine? What is the exact proportion between personal desire and desire for offspring which a "nice" woman demands in the man she marries? Until this is ascertained—and I don't see how the discrimination is to be made—we have no means of knowing how to distribute our sympathies between Mr. and Mrs. Holdsworth. Of course, things come right in the end and all is well; but we are at a loss to know why they should ever have gone wrong; and that is rather a serious criticism of any play.

By a curious coincidence, the production of "Sheila" was closely followed by a revival of Brieux's sociological study, "The Three Daughters of M. Dupont," in which the married life of Julie and Antonin goes to wreck for exactly the opposite reason to that which causes the trouble in Miss Sowerby's play. Julie, it will be remembered, flies into a paroxysm of fury when she learns that Antonin wants their marriage to be childless. It would seem, then, that, in modern matrimony, there is need of very careful steering between the Scylla of too much and the Charybdis of too little philoprogenitiveness. But I fancy Charybdis is much the graver hazard of the two.

Another lady dramatist has given us a play of some little note—"Penny Wise," adapted by Miss Mary Stafford Smith from a story by Leslie Vyner. It is described as "a farcical comedy of Lancashire life," but for once the designation is too modest. In the phrase "farcical comedy" it is generally the noun that is out of place—here it is the adjective. Some of the incidents are unfortunately treated in rather a farcical way, but in its essence the piece is a grim, low-life comedy, reminding one strongly of Gerhart Hauptmann's admirable *Diebskomödie*, "Der Biberpelz." The plot is quite different from that of the German play, but the central character is Hauptmann's Frau Wolff—"die Wölfinn"—come to life again. Mrs. Amelia Dobbin—no relation to Thackeray's heroine of that name—is an indefatigable housewife, a devoted if somewhat autocratic mother, and, in short, a person of many virtues, from which the only deduction is a total absence of moral sense. She wants £50 in order to buy a share in a grocery business, and the only way to obtain it is to swindle an insurance company by pretending that one of her sons, a semi-idiotic youth, is dead. She extorts a death-certificate from a doctor by a rather incredible device, and trusts to the family affection of her brother, who is an undertaker, to carry out the rest of the scheme. But her brother blackmails her, and so does a neighbor who has surprised her secret; and finally the idiot son, who was to have been smuggled off to Manchester, comes home drunk and upsets the whole apple-cart. It is not a very agreeable company to which we are introduced, nor is the piece very plausibly put together; but there is spirit and humor in it, and the heroic audacity and resourcefulness of Mrs. Dobbins render her not unworthy to rank with the redoubtable heroine of "Der Biberpelz" and "Der rote Hahn."

The author of "Quinneys'" cannot possibly be excluded from the roll of the dramatists who count; but his latest play, "Humpty Dumpty," produced by Mr. H. B. Irving at the Savoy Theatre, will certainly not add to Mr. Vachell's reputation. He has chosen the very oldest of themes—that of the tradesman who comes into a fortune and a title—and has treated it with careless superficiality. The first two acts of the play are cleverly written. John Delamothe, a pleasant and hitherto impecunious young man, has just succeeded to the earldom of Mottisfont, when he learns that an uncle of his, who was killed in the hunting field many years previously, was privately married and had a

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son, who is the real heir to the title and estates. Being an excellent young fellow, he does not hesitate a moment to set off in search of his cousin, whom he discovers in the person of Mr. Albert Mott, a prosperous hairdresser at Swashcombe-on-Sea. The scene in the hairdresser's shop is really amusing, and one almost hopes that the antiquity of the story is going to be redeemed by the treatment. But alas! when Mr. Vachell gets to grips with his theme and shows us the hairdresser-earl at home in his ancestral mansion, Mottisfont House, Mayfair, he has nothing in reserve for us but the most perfunctory farce. Albert Mott is an enthusiast for his trade, or, as he calls it, his art. He talks of converting his country seat into a college of perruquerie, amuses his leisure moments by making a wig for his butler, who happens to be bald; and, when he finds that his aristocratic connections are laughing at him and trying to swindle him, he straightway returns to Swashcombe-on-Sea and resumes his tonsorial pursuits.

Of course, the title, "Humpty Dumpty," has warned us that he is not the rightful heir after all; and it appears in due time that, though his mother was lawfully married to the Delamothe who broke his neck and had a son by him, Albert Mott is not that son, but is a child whom she adopted when her own baby died. Now, this is not only an antiquated device, but, what is much worse, it involves a glaring psychological inconsistency. Albert Mott's mother is represented as a sweet and charming old woman, who is rendered miserable by her son's elevation and is hopelessly ill at ease in her new surroundings. Yet she is guilty of the base dishonesty of allowing him to turn young John Delamothe out of his title and estates, when one word from her would have put everything straight; and furthermore, when another old woman turns up who knows the truth and proceeds to blackmail her, she is willing to pension the malignant bloodsucker rather than undo her wrongdoing. There is no common-sense in this, and a playwright who deals thus cavalierly with character has evidently a low opinion of the public intelligence—an opinion on which the public is apt to take its own revenge.

I do not know whether there is a Paul Claudel cult in America. If there is, I must appeal to the tolerance of the faithful when I frankly confess my inability to make head or tail of "L'Annonce faite à Marie," presented the other day by the Pioneer Players in a translation by Louise Morgan Siller, entitled "The Tidings Brought to Mary." Even the meaning of the title is to me an insoluble mystery: I rack my brains in vain to find any connection between this story of a leper saint and the Annunciation. The lovely Violaine incautiously and very unnecessarily kisses a great cathedral-builder, Pierre de Craon, who has tried to outrage her. Thereupon she becomes a leper herself, has to give up the youth whom she loves to her envious sister, and lives for years in a cave-hermitage, a thing forbid. Then her sister's child dies, and she, by miracle (if I understand aright), brings it to life again. Presently she dies herself, and Pierre de Craon, who has meanwhile been cured of his leprosy, talks religion and politics over her bier for an hour on end, his interlocutors being her father, returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and her erstwhile betrothed. There is no doubt great beauty in the prose of the original, but this was naturally lost in the translation, competent though it was. For the rest, the dialogue was interminable and seemed to possess nothing that one could recognize as dramatic quality. I have heard it suggested that it ought to have been freely cut, but there I cannot agree. There are some plays—"Hamlet," for example—in which it is possible to distinguish between what is essential and what is manifestly superfluous; but in "L'Annonce faite à Marie" everything seemed to be equally essential and equally inessential. I feel that there must be something in it to which I lack either the intellectual or the emotional key; but I could not record its production without confessing that it baffled me. One must have the courage of one's limitations. What interested me most was a faint suggestion of Ibsen's Master-Builder Solness in Pierre de Craon.

WILLIAM ARCHER

*London, June 18*

# Notes from the Capital

## William Dudley Foulke

SEEING in the date-line of a patriotic declaration by the Society of Friends the name of Richmond, Indiana, will remind many Washingtonians that Richmond is the voting residence of their one-time neighbor, William Dudley Foulke, lawyer, legislator, political orator, reformer, and author. No prank fate ever played was funnier than that which threw Foulke, by descent of blood, into the Quaker camp, for less of a non-resistant, in spirit and conduct, you could not find in a generation's search. When our paths first crossed, more than forty-five years ago, I was ignorant of his name, character, or antecedents, but I picked him out at a glance for a fighter. Later acquaintance proved that Nature had not mis-stamped him: she never gave him that Roman nose and forward-looking jaw by inadvertence. The only placid and Quaker-like features in his face are his eyes, which, even in his serious moments, when he is laying down the law and punctuating his remarks with admonitory gestures of the head, have the dancing light of humor shining through them. Nobody more dearly loves a joke, sees one in more things, or cherishes one longer for its after-taste, than he; and his mellow chortle when he has framed an argument in satire, or picked to pieces an adversary's self-contradictions, is as infectious as most men's roars.

Foulke was born and bred a New Yorker, was admitted to the bar from the Columbia Law School, and did not start westward till some years after his marriage. Among other cases which came to him in the early days of his practice was one which carried him into the Winnebago Indian country, and matters took a turn there which, but for the timely arrival of a troop of cavalry, would have ended in a scalping bee and brought the young attorney's career to an untimely close. This adventure gave him a particular fondness for stories of the frontier—a taste which constituted in itself a bond of sympathy between him and Theodore Roosevelt. He was also one of the stanchest champions of civil-service reform in its stormy infancy, and had his natural bent in this direction confirmed by a few years' service in the Indiana Legislature, where "between-you-and-me" politics were then especially rampant. When Roosevelt became Civil Service Commissioner under Harrison's Administration, Foulke, as head of a committee of the Reform League, rented an office in Washington, hired the necessary clerical assistance, and set to work in methodical fashion to find out how the elements in power were executing the merit law. As

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preliminary, he addressed a manifold letter to all the members of the Congress then in session, asking them individually a series of pointed questions, such as, how many applications for office they had received during the year, the average amount of correspondence every application had required, how much of the public time this correspondence consumed, and the like. It was a brand-new way of getting at the facts which would show what the patronage system was actually costing the taxpayers by distracting the thought and energy of lawmakers from the duties assigned them under the Constitution and paid for out of the national treasury. The novelty of the device did not make it any more palatable to the party spoilsmen it hit, but the silence of those who refused to answer the questions was as eloquent as were the responses of those who boldly furnished the data desired; and his report, which digested the result of this inquiry and of a similar scrutiny of the course of the President and Cabinet in distributing appointments, made what the late Charles A. Dana was wont to describe as "mighty interesting reading."

In politics, Foulke has fairly boxed the partisan compass. He was a Republican till Grant was nominated for a second term; then he bolted, but leaped the bars again when Greeley became the candidate of the dissenters. Blaine's nomination drove him to the support of Cleveland; but he was not pleased with the way the Democrats handled the Government, and went back long enough to help elect Harrison. Presently he broke once more with the Republicans because of Harrison's dealing with the civil service, and so on. Roosevelt seems to have been the only President who satisfied all his ideals, and, when Roosevelt asked him to take the ill-paid and thankless job of Civil Service Commissioner, he accepted and buckled down to it in earnest. Every morning he was at his office about the hour his subordinates were sitting down to breakfast at home, and by the time his stenographer appeared he had his first mail read, assorted, and ready for answering. All his official work was conducted on this vigorous plan; but it was too vigorous to suit some of his chronic critics, and when one of the debaters in the Senate said something in disparagement of his activity he hit back with a stinging letter which brought forth the customary nasal whines from Teller, and various characteristic expressions of offended dignity from less teary Senators. To this outburst he retorted with another letter, and then sailed for Europe, leaving his resignation in the hands of the President, who had enjoyed the scrimmage to the full.

Nor was Foulke's combativeness confined to the rhetorical field. Physically he is by no means a giant, but you can't frighten him; and when he chanced one day, in a Washington Street, upon a battle between a letter-carrier and a private coachman, which the carrier tried to terminate suddenly by drawing a revolver, Foulke sprang between the two quarrellers, and, peering straight down the pistol-barrel of the carrier, forced him back and brought him to his senses. And the incident did not end here. Reflecting that he must be not only a good citizen, but a guardian of the civil service, the Commissioner made a note of the carrier's number and hastened to the post office to give the authorities there an account of what had happened. A formal investigation followed, and the carrier was severely dealt with; and Washington's postmaster acquired a new conception of what is meant by the strenuous life in Federal officialdom.

TATTLER

# Farmers and the Government

MUCH legislation dealing with rural credits has been enacted by the nation and the States during the last four years, but only the smaller portion of it has been put to use. It is barely being used in the most thickly settled and fertile sections, where the possibilities are naturally and immeasurably the greatest for quickly increasing the land's productivity so as to meet the pressing and immediate needs of the world. Indeed, its ineffectiveness for emergencies seems to be generally recognized, because in April, when President Wilson warned us that "the supreme test of the nation has come" and the country enthusiastically responded to his patriotic call for more foodstuffs, almost all instrumentalities except those provided by this legislation were resorted to in order to finance the farmer and speed up agriculture.

The legislation is the outcome of a movement which had a right inception, but which developed tendencies to set aside old-established principles of rural banking and finance, and to give the farmer the use of public funds and credit or to place him under the guiding hand of Government or of benevolence. In some instances it has caused unwise changes, and in other instances clear, though unintended, violations of constitutional law. But whatever the shortcomings of this hasty legislation, it will be difficult to get it off the statute books, not only because few people would bother about a repeal if it became a dead letter, but mainly because legislators nowadays incline to believe in these socialistic proposals and have discouraged into inaction those who still have faith in individual initiative. The best thing to do, therefore, is to make the best of a bad case, and to see if these laws cannot be reformed or utilized in some way during the war.

The State part of the legislation consists of the laws enacted in a good many States for so-called credit unions, laws purporting to adapt building and loan associations to rural service, and laws authorizing the State to issue or guarantee bonds or raise money in some other way to lend on farm land. None of these has afforded any aid worthy of note to agriculture. Most of them are so fundamentally wrong that they will probably fall into disuse. Recently New York and some other States have gone directly into the business of buying and selling seeds, fertilizers, and equipment to tillers of the soil. A bill likely to pass has been introduced in Congress to give similar powers to the United States Department of Agriculture. The effect of these experiments remains to be seen.

The national part of the legislation consists of six laws. The first is the amended Reclamation act, under which public funds are used on irrigation projects in the West, the settlers being required to pay back the cost of improvement of their tracts in twenty annual instalments. The second is the clauses of the Federal Reserve act, which authorize Reserve banks to discount six months' paper made for agricultural purposes or based on live stock, and which empower any national bank, not situated in a central reserve city, to invest one-fourth of capital stock and surplus or one-third of time deposits in five-year mortgages of farm land. The third is the Cotton Futures act, under which stored cotton can be standardized as security for loans. The fourth and fifth are the Grain Standards and Warehouse acts, which enable the producer of non-perishable

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foodstuff staples to obtain bankable receipts or certificates from warehouses operating under Federal licenses. The sixth is the Federal Farm Loan act.

The irrigation projects are financed by a defective method from the sales of public lands. The bureau in charge, improperly supervised, used up all these proceeds and got Congress to authorize it to issue $20,000,000 of bonds. With this issue, the settlers owed the Government $116,133,251, but have paid back only $6,099,232. The prospects are not bright for the prompt and regular repayment of the remainder, since many settlers are drifting into the belief that the Government ought to cancel the debt. No funds are available for the immediate necessities occasioned by the war.

The clauses of the Federal Reserve act permit the tying up of funds in a way not strictly in accordance with the theories of commercial banking and the note-issuing power of the system to which the national banks belong. The clause relating to farm-land credit has alone released upwards of $450,000,000 for agriculture. This example, together with the general moral effect of the rural credits movement in the last several years, led other banks and the life insurance companies to increase their investments in farm securities to over $290,000,000 and $700,000,000, respectively. The enormous aggregate undoubtedly reduced the interest on farm mortgages to its present fairly reasonable rate throughout the country.

The acts relating to cotton futures, grain standards, and warehouses tend, of course, to divest the States of their rights and to place private enterprise under the management and control of the Federal Government. Much discontent, if not opposition, is arising against the last act, the allegation being that gradings are unjust and that operations are paternalistic and interfere with State authorities. All three acts weaken individual initiative and so will undoubtedly retard coöperation among farmers. Nevertheless, they are laws and so are to be used, at least during the war, since they afford a dependable means of storing and grading farm products, of obtaining credit on such products under Federal supervision, and of eliminating doubts as to values and deliveries. Agricultural associations and organizations, by owning or managing warehouses and availing themselves of their facilities, could sell food and fodder directly to the army and navy, not only of this country, but also of any foreign country. In this way governments could get war supplies at the exact price the farmers demand, while the farmers, on the other hand, would save brokers' commissions and get all the returns from their crops.

Though farmers are fairly well served by the existing banking system, this is not wholly adequate to their requirements, and their most urgent need is coöperative banking, or a means of mobilizing their collective resources in order to obtain capital or credit on easy terms for such enterprises, large or small, as are undertaken and may be completed within the short time from harvest to harvest. The Congressional Committee that drafted the Federal Farm Loan act neglected this important branch of its work, and stopped with a plan for obtaining money through Government aid in making long-term loans on farm land. This, combined with a scheme to absorb savings and deposits for the Government's use, is its only object; and so the act has defects and omissions that cannot but mar its usefulness for agriculture. The twelve Federal land banks for which the act provides have been established, but no official compilation of their operations has yet been published. Information at hand shows, however, that private investors subscribed to only $120,095 of their $9,000,000 of capital stock, and that the Government, as required by the act, subscribed the rest, besides paying out $506,000 for expenses; also that the Federal Farm Loan Board, in the exercise of its discretionary powers, has fixed 4½ per cent. per annum as the interest rate for bonds of the land banks and is requiring them to make loans at 5 per cent. per annum.

The rate is about as high as that charged by private lenders, and must be disappointing to farmers who had been given to understand that the rate would not exceed 3 per cent. It certainly could easily be lowered, since the land banks and their national farm loan associations ought to get money cheaply and operate inexpensively, not only on account of the non-taxability of their capital stocks and other funds, but especially because their overhead expenses are paid by the people, and their tax-exempted bonds, besides being lawful as investment for fiduciary and trust funds and as security for public deposits, are instrumentalities of the United States Government. In normal times such bonds should sell at a premium, or else bear low interest rates. The amount of bonds that the Board is preparing to issue is reported to be between 125 and 200 million dollars. The larger figure would indicate that the Board will lend one dollar for each $10 of the two billion dollars of farm mortgages estimated now to be on record. This assumes that the Board went to the limit set by a clause in the act permitting the loans and bonds to correspond in amounts, provided the borrowers by their obligatory subscriptions maintain capital stock at one-twentieth of the bonds in circulation.

The act also provides that the borrowers of each Federal land bank shall elect the majority directors and take over the management from the Government as soon as their obligatory subscriptions to capital stock equal $100,000. These already surpass that mark, but as yet there is no evidence of a move to turn the management over to the borrowers. Soon or late, however, great organizations like the American Society of Equity, the National Grange, the Ancient Order of Gleaners, the Farmers' Union, and the Farmers' National Congress will awake to the realization that the borrowers are entitled to the management, and will probably combine in each district to get possession.

Should this come to pass, interest rates would surely be brought down to the lowest point justified by the governmental quality of the bonds and mortgages, the appraisal of farms be made under liberal rules, the annual payment of the borrower be reduced to the smallest possible figure by lengthening the period of the loan to the maximum of forty years, while a fraternal and mutual indulgence would lessen the severity of the collective liability which the act imposes upon the partakers of the Government's bounty; and the weakness and evil as well as the strength and good of the system would be disclosed. The Board is holding on with a firm hand and can easily do so for the present, but the case will be different when the farmers gain more knowledge and have enough interest in the system to demand a change.

Thus there are difficulties ahead for the Federal land banks, to say nothing of the constitutional question as to

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whether Congress has the power to put the Federal Government into the business of farm mortgaging or to prevent the States from taxing such business. In view of these facts it would seem that serious consideration should be given to section 16 of the Federal Farm Loan act. That section is a sensible piece of general legislation which authorizes the incorporation of national joint stock land banks, or private bond and mortgage companies, for farm mortgaging under Federal supervision. It was doubtless inserted to save the face of what was contemned as the banker class and probably without thought of its being used. Nevertheless, it is not involved in many constitutional doubts, it has but few special and government-aid features and no harsh lending regulations, and so it bids fair to outlast and outclass the rest of the act, provided only that certain manifestly just and proper amendments be made.

A joint stock land bank, if formed, could lend directly to owners of farm land within its territory, without any restriction as to purpose, use, or individual amount of the loan. In this respect it would have an advantage over the Federal land banks, which can lend only upon the endorsement and guaranty of some national farm loan association or State bank or mortgage company, and to persons who agree to cultivate the mortgaged property, use the loan for a specified purpose, and contribute 5 per cent. of its amount to capital stock, the amount in no instance to exceed $10,000. It seems likely that a joint stock land bank would have the preference of borrowers, while it could also offer a safe and attractive security to investors, since the bonds of both kinds of land banks have the same quality, tax exemptions, and privileges, the only difference being that the bonds of the Federal land banks are guaranteed by each other of them and bear the certificate of the farm loan commissioner. The Federal Farm Loan Board, however, in its campaign for auxiliary State legislation is asking that only the bonds of the Federal land banks be legalized for investment by savings banks, etc.

The powers of a joint stock land bank would be the same as those of the Federal land banks, except for the right to open branches and receive deposits. But it would not have the use, which they are temporarily enjoying, of free or cheap Government money for capital stock and working funds. It must finance itself with private money and be able to pay dividends or interest at a fair rate from the start in order to get it. So the troubles of a joint stock land bank, if any, would come largely from lack of adequate sources of income and profits. The remedy lies in amending the act in a few particulars, concerning which Congress ought not to have any hesitation, since they are all in accord with the agricultural character of the act, or else would subserve its object of affording farmers an abundant flow of money at the maximum interest rate of 6 per cent. or less. The amendments most urgently needed are to extend the territory for lending operations from two contiguous States to a whole district at least, to remove doubts as to whether a banker or mortgage man can serve as a director or officer, to give powers to buy and sell farm mortgages on commission as well as to invest in them, and to buy and sell farm land on commission.

No reasonable objection could be made against such amendments, since they would strengthen the act at its weakest points and enable its system more effectively to finance the back-to-the-land movement. Other amendments that might be considered are, to give powers to invest in, buy, and sell direct obligations of States, counties, municipalities, and public service corporations, and to do trust company business. Securities of the kinds mentioned have basic values as safe and sound as those of real estate. Land mortgage banks in Germany and France are allowed to hold and handle them, and also to perform some of the functions of trust companies. The authority for this was granted because experience proves that farm mortgaging is more expensive than almost every other form of credit, and that companies engaged in it must have various sources of profits for meeting the expense, if they are obliged to lend money on farm land at some rate fixed by statute and not determined by the market.

However, wherever a company possesses these combined powers, it must maintain a separate department for farm mortgaging, while any tax exemptions or special privileges which it enjoys are usually attached only to such department and to its farm land bonds. Thus no complications can arise, while the expenses of the farm mortgage department are included in overhead charges and paid out of the general earnings. As a result, then, the greater the earnings the better are the terms upon which the company accords credit to farmers. This plan ought to be as successful in the United States as in Europe. Trust company business is more distinctively a part of a bond and mortgage company than of a commercial bank. In disregard of this fact, however, Congress has conferred upon national banks the right to serve as a trustee, executor, administrator, or registrar of stocks and bonds as well as to receive savings deposits.

Indeed, Congress seems bent on placing all banking and finance under Federal supervision, and, with this object, is threatening especially to tax banks and trust companies operating under State laws, so as to force them into the Federal reserve system. But these drastic and not quite logical methods are unnecessary, now that the Federal Farm Loan act is a law. Congress could more easily accomplish its purposes by making the suggested amendments to that act than in any other way. Further, should Congress deem it advisable to place short-term agricultural credit under Federal supervision, it could also bring this about by simply amending the act so as to authorize national farm loan associations to accord credit to their members on security other than real estate.

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# Summary of the News

GRANTING that censorship and press bureau are necessary evils in time of war, the general sentiment of the country is that they need not be quite so evil as in recent manifestations. We comment editorially on the unhappy inspiration which prompted Mr. George Creel to elaborate Admiral Gleaves's dispatch, telling of brushes with submarines during the transport of our troops across the Atlantic, into an account of a full-fledged battle with "U-boats gathered for what they deemed a slaughter" and to issue the balderdash as a suitable breakfast dish for the American people on the Fourth of July.

MUDDLE here and abroad seems to have attended the whole question of censoring the news concerning the arrival of our troops in France. The fact that the news appeared prematurely in England was due apparently to a genuine misunderstanding in the French cable offices, and this occurrence was presumably Secretary Baker's reason for suddenly diverting to Washington for censorship dispatches of American correspondents in France. The order was rescinded after twenty-four hours, and the appointment of Frederick Palmer as censor with Gen. Pershing's forces should guarantee that the confusion of last week will not be repeated.

ONE result of Mr. Creel's account of the submarine attacks on our transports was the outbreak of an incipient epidemic of spy fever in Washington. The most severe symptoms were not of long duration and the aftermath of caution and alertness in the Government is to be welcomed. It is now generally recognized that the knowledge which the German Admiralty certainly possessed concerning the sailing of the expeditionary forces could have been readily obtained apart from the intermediary of spies in high places at the Navy Department. That there are large numbers of German spies at work in this country no reasonable being has ever doubted. There is every indication now that the Government is giving the question of dealing with them its most serious consideration and that its efforts are being directed towards the better coördination of the various secret-service organizations here and towards the coöperation of these with the similar services of the Allies. First steps were taken with the arrest and internment at the end of last week of three notorious German agents and with the notice served on all German diplomatic employees that their continued presence in this country would not be permitted.

RESTRICTIONS on exports, authorized under the embargo clause of the Espionage bill, were issued by proclamation of the President on Monday, to become effective on Sunday next. The proclamation provides for absolute governmental control over the export of coal, coke, fuel, oils, kerosene and gasolene, including bunkers, food grains, flour and meal, fodder and feeds, meats and fats, pig iron, steel billets, ship plates and structural shapes, scrap iron and scrap steel, ferromanganese, fertilizers, arms, ammunition, and explosives. In a supplementary statement President Wilson emphasized the Government's intention of showing all consideration to neutrals that was compatible with the main objects of the measure: amelioration of the food situation in this country, provision for the necessities of the Allies, and prevention of supplies from reaching Germany.

FURTHER delay in passing the Lever Food bill appears inevitable. The "bone dry" amendment prohibiting the manufacture during the war of beer and wine was defeated on July 6 by a vote of 52 to 34, but on the following day the supporters of an irrelevant issue won a compensating victory in securing the passage, by a vote of 45 to 37, of an amendment prohibiting the further manufacture of distilled spirits during the war and directing the President to take over for the Government, at cost price plus a 10 per cent. profit, all stocks of distilled liquor in bond.

THE veil was lifted from the recent proceedings of the Shipping Board by dispatches from Washington on Monday which stated that Mr. Denman was anxious to obtain authorization from Congress for another $500,000,000 to be expended on the building of wooden ships, the whole of the original appropriation of $750,000,000 having now been absorbed by the requisition of shipping and by contracts made or pending for the construction of steel or wooden ships.

DESPITE the professed incredulity of the German press, which seems to assert variously that no troops at all or that a general, an ambulance, and 1,500 men have reached France, it is a fact that Gen. Pershing and his army have now fairly settled down to work. A battalion, rapturously received, paraded in Paris on the Fourth of July and afterwards left for its permanent training camp. The Fourth of July was also made the occasion of a noteworthy celebration in London.

WE have been treated during the past week to another representation of the famous trick of the elusive Chancellor. "Which is the properest day to speak? Saturday, Sunday, Monday," blithely sings good Dr. Bethmann, and finally decides that, on the whole, Tuesday will be properer still. That is an unfortunate decision from the point of view of the *Nation*, which goes to press too early to record the words of wisdom which the Chancellor will doubtless utter, if he has not again postponed his performance. We can only note, therefore, the indications of growing demands, voiced now not only by the Socialists, but by the Catholics of the Centre, both for far-reaching political reforms and for a definite statement on the terms of peace that Germany is prepared to accept. In Austria at the same time the nondescript Ministry of Dr. von Seydler is tottering to its fall.

EVENTS in Russia may again be happily summarized by reference to the fighting front. The resumption of the offensive which we recorded last week appears to have been no mere flash in the pan, for counter-attacks by the Austro-German forces were in the main repulsed, and by Sunday the Russian offensive had spread along a front of thirty miles on the Narayuvka River and was directed at Halicz. On Monday came news of a severe action to the west of Stanislau, in which the troops of Gen. Kornilov captured important Austrian positions, occupied several villages, and took more than 7,000 prisoners and 48 guns. Semi-official dispatches of July 7 told also of violent fighting 200 miles to the north of the Galician offensive, in the marshes around Pinsk. An interesting interview given by Premier Lvov to a correspondent of the Associated Press, on which we comment editorially, was published in Monday's papers.

LITTLE of importance, except negatively, has occurred on the western front. On the negative side, however, is to be recorded the complete defeat of the most violent German efforts to recapture important positions on the Aisne along the Chemin-des-Dames. Some interesting figures were given out on July 5 by Gen. Maurice for the British War Office. In the whole theatre of war since the beginning the British have taken 739 German field guns and lost 133, of which 37 have been recaptured, making a total of 96 lost, and of these 96, 84 were lost on the western front during the first few months of the war, not a single gun having been lost since April, 1915.

A RAID by twenty German aeroplanes took place over London on July 8. Though the attack was probably the most serious that has yet been made on England from the air, the results must to the German mind have been disappointing, since the casualties, particularly in women and children, were far smaller than in the previous raid. The official report gives the killed as 37 and the injured as 141. Little material damage seems to have been done. Three of the raiding machines, according to the British, but one, according to the German, report, were brought down. Seven other German machines that had nothing to do with the raid were, however, brought down off Dunkirk by British airmen on the lookout for the returning raiders. Raids on a large scale by eighty-four French aeroplanes were made on the night of July 6 far into Germany, in reprisal for German raids on open French towns. Treves, Essen, and Coblentz were the principal centres visited.

SUBMARINES or mines, according to the British report for the week ended July 1, destroyed 15 ships of more and 5 of less than 1,600 tons. Sixteen vessels were unsuccessfully attacked. Arrivals were 2,745; sailings, 2,846.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE announced in the House of Commons on July 6 that the Irish Convention would meet in Dublin on July 25 to deal with preliminary business. This will include the appointment by the Convention itself of a chairman. As temporary chairman Mr. Lloyd George suggested the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Henry E. Duke.

BY a vote of 118 to 55 the Canadian House of Commons, on July 6, advanced another stage towards the passage of the bill for compulsory military service. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's proposal for a referendum was defeated by a majority of 49.

CHINA'S reversion to monarchy was of short duration. The boy Emperor had only time to issue one or two proclamations before the Republican forces had marched on Peking and fought a battle in its environs of which the outcome seems never to have been in doubt. The leader of the fruitless attempt to restore the monarchy, Gen. Chang Hsun, appears then to have presented his resignation to the Emperor, who in turn issued an edict announcing his abdication.

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# Count Czernin and Rumania

## THE RECORD OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RED-BOOK.

THE *Revue des Deux Mondes* of May 15 calls attention to the Austro-Hungarian Red Book, which deals with the momentous time between July 22, 1914, and August 27, 1916, and shows this latest Austrian document to possess considerable interest. For the Red Book contains the correspondence of Count Czernin, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, who at the time represented the Dual Monarchy at Bucharest. Count Czernin, of Czech origin, had been the friend and confidant of the unfortunate Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and here in the Rumanian capital he gives his impressions from day to day of the court and the political leaders with whom he comes into contact, and he foretells with remarkable exactness the trend of events.

Yet at the beginning of the war there were reasons for hoping that Rumania might at least preserve neutrality. In the first place, there was King Charles, a Hohenzollern, who had remained emphatically German in his sympathies, and the people had not forgotten that Russia had taken Bessarabia from them, a sorry reward for the assistance the Rumanian army and people had given in the campaign of 1877-78 against the Turks. But the situation changed rapidly with the death of the King. His nephew, the new King Ferdinand, had been brought up in Rumania and was married to a princess who was English in training and sympathy, and the sense of his obligations to his people and their desires kept the sympathies that had been so strongly manifested in his uncle in abeyance. From the time of the accession of King Ferdinand, Count Czernin saw clearly that the current of popular feeling, aided by the pressure of the Allies, would carry the King to the Entente, and all that remained then was to delay as long as possible what seemed inevitable.

It was on July 22, 1914, that Count Berchtold, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, had charged Count Czernin, as he had the other Ministers abroad, to communicate to the Rumanian Government the contents of the note that Austria was sending to Servia. The outrageous character of that ultimatum and its unheard-of exactions—to which unhappy Servia received forty-eight hours to reply—have not been forgotten. What is new is the letter, now published, that Count Berchtold sent to Count Czernin for the perusal of the Rumanian King and Government in explanation of the Servian note. The letter follows:

The King knows how much love His Apostolic Majesty has for peace and the sense of his high responsibility. . . . Unhappily, there remains no hope of finding a pacific issue.

Austria-Hungary is not pursuing any selfish plan in Servia, but she must defend her rights against a neighbor whose whole policy is to detach from the Monarchy her frontier population. This must be stopped.

We do not aim at any territorial aggrandizement in Servia, so we have the hope that, if war becomes necessary, it may be localized.

We expect from the King fidelity to treaties, and that in his high wisdom he will maintain Rumania in a state of strict neutrality. We ourselves, remembering our duty as allies, will not undertake any decision touching Rumania's interests without coming to a prior understanding with her.

Should Russia adopt an aggressive attitude towards us, we should reckon upon the loyal coöperation of Rumania as being our ally.

The now dead King Charles had, unknown to his people, signed a secret treaty with Austria as far back as 1883, and that had been renewed several times since. It had not been ratified by his Parliament.

The Rumanian King's reply to the Austrian communication was that he guaranteed Rumania's neutrality, but in Count Czernin's letter to Count Berchtold, where he narrates the interview with King Charles, he underlines the words in which the King states that in case Russia should march against Austria "we could, alas! with difficulty reckon on the military intervention of Rumania." Count Czernin continues:

I never saw the King so much moved as when he told me that if he followed the biddings of his heart, his army would march by the side of the Triple Alliance [Italy still officially belonged to it, not having yet seceded] but that he could not: so many changes had happened in the year that it had become an impossibility for him to keep his engagements. Nevertheless, he begged me to let Your Excellency know that if Russia should enter the conflict, he would keep a strict neutrality: no force in the world could oblige him to take arms against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

And the King, eager to keep his personal pledges to the Central Powers, called a Crown Council of former Premiers and chiefs of the Opposition, together with the actual members of the Government. Before them he pleaded the cause of the intervention of Rumania on the side of Austria and Germany, and for the first time, August 4, 1914, revealed officially to the Council the secret treaty that bound Rumania. The Council nevertheless pronounced in favor of Rumania's neutrality and stated that the treaty that the King invoked had no constitutional value, but only engaged him personally.

In his report to Burian, Count Czernin gives his opinion:

Here they are only seeking to gain time till the European war has given results. If we are the conquerors, and this is the opinion of the King, Rumania will join us, but should fortune betray us, then the "mot d'ordre" "partition of the monarchy" will be raised again and Rumania will join our enemies; but I believe the King would abdicate before he would consent to that. Finally, all depends on our success on the theatre of the war.

The following month, on September 19, the Count writes to Vienna:

The news of the retreat of our army has increased the desire to strike us a mortal blow. They are afraid of being too late in at the death of the monarchy. The King is the only brake left on the down-grade. Let us be patient and let the shouters yell. The first success we have against the Russians, all will be silent again.

It was not the moment to insist on the transit of Austrian war material through Rumania to Turkey, and Mr. Bratiano refused absolutely Count Czernin's demand, stating that "there would be an explosion of anger throughout the country which wishes for war against Austria." This seems to be a rank statement from the Rumanian Minister whom the Count is always accusing of duplicity.

The popular manifestations against Austria tormented the dying King, whose sympathies were all with Austria and Germany. In the last visit that Count Czernin paid him the unhappy monarch said: "I only wish to die so that there may be an end to it all"; and the Austrian Minister in describing this last interview writes: "The fear of being obliged to fail in keeping his word; of committing a felony, of dishonoring himself in one word, was so odious that he appeared to be crushed by it. And the old man is alone. Your Excellency knows the game the Rumanian Ministry is up to."

On September 23, failing to see the King, who was too ill to receive him, Count Czernin had an audience with the nephew, the present King, and thus describes it:

It is singularly difficult to give an exact account of this audience. The Prince has so often changed his mind that it is impossible to trust to his statements. He began by telling me that everybody wished for war against us, and he repeated constantly: "I don't know how it is going to end" [here Count Czernin underlines the words] "one thing is impossible, and that is war against Russia; but everything else is possible."

Yet the Prince qualified the policy desired by the people as "the suicide of Rumania"—"if Rumania marches with Russia, she will become her vassal, and if Austria should be victorious she will be punished for her attitude," but he added: "What can you do, against the will of the people?"

To this I replied: "His Majesty, my very gracious master, knows the difficulties of the situation, but he knows that the royal prince is, like the King, a man of honor, and therefore incapable of a miserable treason."

This browbeating on the part of the Austrians gave results. Czernin continues: "Here the royal Prince seemed completely

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upset. He declared: 'If I did such a thing I would conduct myself like *ganz gemeinter Kerl.* Honor before everything.' In fact, all the contrary of what he said at the start. I came away with the worst impression: the Prince is an instrument without will and his surrounding inspires no confidence."

On September 30 the dying King sent the following lines, written with unsteady hand, to the Count:

The Crown Council will unite in a few days: my health and the desire to gain time have delayed the reunion. It is to be hoped that they will decide on a declaration of neutrality. For the moment, this is for the best. May news of victories soon reach us.

On October 10 the King was dead, and Count Czernin warned his Government of the change in the situation. November brought news of the retreat of the Austrian army before the Russians, and the Count writes: "There are only two parties here now: those who would like to fall upon us at once, and 'our friends' who judge that the situation is not yet ripe enough—better to wait till we are really beaten. I place in the last category the royal couple and the president of the Council. This last excused himself to me by saying 'to keep one's place, one must howl with the wolves.' "

However, the lateness of the season and the prospect of a winter campaign helped to prevent any immediate action being taken. When the spring came and Italy ranged herself on the side of the Entente, it was only the successful advance of the Austro-German forces in Galicia that prevented Rumania from declaring herself.

Baron Burian had taken the place of Count Berchtold, and he charged Count Czernin to press upon the King that, in face of the Russian defeats, Rumania could no longer remain neutral, but should bring her armed support to Austria. King Ferdinand had to listen, in an interview accorded at the end of May, to a long diatribe of the Count upon "the perfidy of Italy," and without contradicting the Austrian Minister, reminded him that "constitutional sovereigns are not the masters," and the King repeated several times that he would do all that was possible to remain neutral, but that if Austria was beaten his own position would be untenable.

In the meantime, Rumania was massing troops on the Austrian frontier, and when Count Czernin protested, the reply given was that, as Austria-Hungary had closed the frontier, Rumania was obliged to take measures before such a hostile attitude. On Austria's reopening of the frontier, King Ferdinand ordered the troops to withdraw for a distance of ten miles, but Count Czernin, informed by his agents that the order was not executed, wrote to the King "to inform him that his generals ignored the orders given by His Majesty."

The winter of 1915-1916 passed in dilatory negotiations. But the coming summer, with the new Russian offensive, successful for the time being, brought matters to a climax. So well was Count Czernin informed by his spies and agents that he was able to write to Vienna on June 28, 1916, that hostilities would begin in the second fortnight of August. War was declared by Rumania on the 27th.

JOHN A. HUYBERS.

*Nice, France, May 28.*


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